



The Hon^{ble}
Col. JAMES GARDINER



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Col. JAMES GARDINER

SOME
Remarkable Passages
IN THE
L I F E
OF THE HONOURABLE
Col. JAMES GARDINER,
Who was slain at the BATTLE of PRESTON-
PANS, 21st September, 1745:
WITH AN
A P P E N D I X,
RELATING TO THE
ANCIENT FAMILY
OF THE
MUNROES of FOWLIS.

By P. D O D D R I D G E, D. D.

————— JUSTIOR ALTER
NEC PIETATE FUIT, NEC BELLO MAJOR ET ARMIS.
VIRG

L O N D O N:
Sold by R. TOMLINSON, J. JACKSON, A. NEW-
TON, W. STANTON, and J. DURSLEY.

MDCCLXXVIII.

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CLARENCE GARDINER

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T O

DAVID GARDINER, Esq;

CORNET in Sir JOHN COPE's regi-
ment of DRAGOONS.

DEAR SIR,

While my heart is following you, with a truly paternal solicitude, through all the dangers of military life, in which you are thus early engaged, anxious for your safety amidst the instruments of death, and the far more dangerous allurements of vice; I feel a peculiar pleasure in being able at length, though after such long delays, to put into your hands the *memoirs* with which I now present you. They contain many particulars, which would have been worthy

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of your attentive notice, had they related to a person of the most distant nation or age : but they will, I doubt not, command your peculiar regard, as they are sacred to the memory of that excellent man, from whom you had the honour to derive your birth, and by whose generous and affectionate care you have been laid under all the obligations, which the best of fathers could confer on a most beloved son.

Here, Sir, you see a gentleman, who with all the advantages of a liberal and religious education, added to every natural accomplishment that could render him most agreeable, entered, before he had attained the stature of a man, on those arduous and generous services to which you are devoted, and behaved in them with a gallantry and courage, which will always give a splendor to his name among the *British* soldiery, and render him an example to all officers of his rank. But, alas ! amidst all the intrepidity

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trepidity of the *martial Hero*, you see him vanquished by the blandishments of pleasure, and in chace of it plunging himself into follies and vices, for which no want of education or genius could have been a sufficient excuse. You behold him urging the ignoble and fatal pursuit, unmoved by the terrors which death was continually darting around him, and the most signal deliverances by which Providence again and again rescued him from those terrors; till at length he was reclaimed by an ever-memorable interposition of divine grace. Then you have the pleasure of seeing him become in good earnest *a convert to Christianity*, and by speedy advances growing up into one of its brightest ornaments; his mind continually filled with the great ideas which the gospel of our Redeemer suggests, and bringing the blessed influence of its sublime principles into every relation of military and civil, of public and domestic life. You trace him persevering in a steady and uniform course of goodness,

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through

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through a long series of honourable and prosperous years, the delight of all that were so happy as to know him, and, in his sphere, the most faithful guardian of his country; till at last, worn out with honourable labours, and broken with infirmities which they had hastened upon him before the time, you see him forgetting them at once at the call of duty and providence; with all the generous ardour of his most vigorous days rushing on the enemies of religion and liberty, sustaining their shock with the most deliberate fortitude, when deserted by those that should have supported him, and cheerfully sacrificing the little remains of a mortal life, in the triumphant views of a glorious immortality.

This, Sir, is the noble object I present to your view; and you will, I hope, fix your eye continually upon it, and will never allow yourself for one day to forget, that this illustrious man is COLONEL GARDINER, your ever-honoured father; who

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who having approved his *fidelity to the death*, and received a *crown of life*, seems as it were, by what you here read, to be calling out to you from amidst *the cloud of witnesses* with which you are surrounded, and urging you by every generous, tender, filial sentiment, to mark the footsteps of his *Christian race*, and strenuously to maintain *that combat*, where the victory is through divine grace certain, and the prize an eternal kingdom in the heavens.

The last number of the *Appendix* introduces a most worthy *triumvirate* of your father's friends, following him through the same heroic path, to an end like his; and with pleasure pouring forth their lives in blood, for the rescue and preservation of their dearer country. And I trust, the eloquence of their examples will be prevalent with many, to emulate the many virtues for which they were conspicuous.

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My hopes, Sir, that all these powerful motives will especially have their full efficacy on You, are greatly encouraged by the certainty which I have, of your being well-acquainted with the evidence of *Christianity* in its full extent ; a criminal ignorance of which in the midst of great advantages for learning them, leaves so many of our young people a prey to *deism*, and so to vice and ruin, which generally bring up its rear. My life would be a continual burthen to me, if I had not a consciousness in the sight of God, that during the years in which the important truth of your education was committed to my care, I had laid before you the proofs both of natural and revealed religion, in what I assuredly esteem to be, with regard to the judgment, if they are carefully examined, an irresistible light; and that I had endeavoured to attend them with those addresses, which might be most likely to impress your heart. You have not, dear Sir, forgotten, and I am confident you can never entirely forget,
the

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the assiduity with which I have laboured to form your mind, not only to what might be ornamental to you in human life, but above all to a true taste of what is really excellent, and an early contempt of those vanities by which the generality of our youth, especially in your station, are debased, enervated, and undone. My private, as well as public addresses for this purpose, will, I know, be remembered by you, and the tears of tenderness with which they have so often been accompanied: and may they be so remembered, that they who are most tenderly concerned, may be comforted under the loss of such an inestimable friend as COLONEL GARDINER, by seeing that his character, in all its most amiable and resplendent parts, lives in you; and that, how difficult soever it may be to act up to that height of expectation, with which the eyes of the world will be fixed on the son of such a father, you are, in the strength of divine grace, attempting it; at least are following him with generous emulation

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ation and with daily solicitude, that the steps may be less unequal!

May the LORD GOD of your father, and I will add, of both your pious and honourable parents, animate your heart more and more with such views and sentiments as these! May He guard your life amidst every scene of danger, to be a protection and blessing to those that are yet unborn; and may He give you, in some far distant period of time, to resign it by a gentler dissolution than the hero from whom you sprung, or, if unerring Wisdom appoint otherwise, to end it with equal glory!

I am,

Dear Sir,

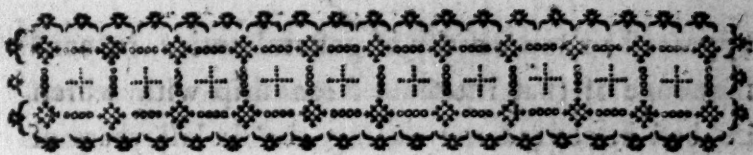
Your every faithful,

Affectionate Friend, and

Obliged humble Servant,

*Northampton,
1st July 1747.*

P. DODDRIDGE.



SOME
REMARKABLE PASSAGES
IN THE
L I F E

Of the Honourable.

COL. JAMES GARDINER.

§. I. **W**HEN I promised the public some larger account of the life and character of this illustrious person than I could conveniently insert in my *sermon* on the sad occasion of his death, I was secure, that, if Providence continued my capacity of writing, I should not wholly disappoint the expectation. For I was furnished with a variety of particulars, which

appeared to me worthy of general notice, in consequence of that intimate friendship with which he had honoured me during the six last years of his life; a friendship which led him to open his heart to me in repeated *conversations* with an unbounded confidence, (as he then assured me, beyond what he had used with any other man living,) so far as religious experiences were concerned: And I had also received several very valuable *letters* from him, during the time of our absence from each other, which contained most genuine and edifying traces of his Christian character. But I hoped farther to learn many valuable particulars from the *papers* of his own closet; and from his *letters* to other friends, as well as from what they more circumstantially knew concerning him: I therefore determined to delay the execution of my promise, till I could enjoy these advantages for performing it in the most satisfactory manner; nor have I, on the whole, reason to regret that determination.

§ 2. I shall not trouble the reader with all the causes which concurred to retard these expected assistances for almost a whole year: the chief of them were, the tedious languishing illness of his afflicted *lady*, through whose hands it was proper the *papers* should pass; together with the confusion into which the *rebels* had thrown them, when they ransacked his seat at

Bankton,

Bankton, where most of them were deposited. But having now received such of them as have escaped their voracious hands, and could conveniently be collected and transmitted, I set myself with the greatest pleasure to perform, what I esteem, not merely a tribute of gratitude to the memory of my invaluable friend, (though never was the memory of any mortal man more precious and sacred to me;) but of duty to GOD, and to my fellow-creatures: for I have a most chearful hope, that the narrative I am now to write, will, under the Divine blessing, be a means of spreading, what of all things in the world every benevolent heart will most desire to spread, a warm and lively sense of religion.

§ 3. My own heart has been so much edified and animated, by what I have read in the *memoirs* of persons who have been eminent for wisdom and piety, that I cannot but wish the treasure may be more and more increased: and I would hope, the world may gather the like valuable fruits from the *life* I am now attempting; not only as it will contain very singular circumstances, which may excite a general curiosity, but as it comes attended with some other particular advantage.

§ 4. The reader is here to survey a character of such eminent and various goodness, as might demand

demand veneration, and inspire him with a desire to imitate it too, had it appeared in the obscurest rank: but it will surely command some peculiar regard, when viewed in so elevated and important a station; especially as it shone, not in ecclesiastical, but *military life*, where the temptations are so many, and the prevalency of the contrary character so great, that it may seem no inconsiderable praise and felicity to be free from dissolute vice, and to retain what in most other professions might be esteemed only *a mediocrity of virtue*. It may surely with the highest justice be expected, that the title and bravery of *Colonel GARDINER* will invite many of our *officers* and *soldiers*, to whom his name has been long honourable and dear, to peruse this account of him with some peculiar attention: in consequence of which, it may be a means of increasing the number, and brightening the character, of those who are already adorning their office, their country, and their religion; and of reclaiming those, who will see rather what they ought to be, than what they are. On the whole, to the *gentlemen of the sword* I would particularly offer these *memoirs*, as theirs by so distinguished a title: yet I am firmly persuaded there are *none* whose office is so sacred, or whose proficiency in the religious life is so advanced, but they may find something to demand

mand their thankfulness, and to awaken their emulation.

§ 5. Colonel JAMES GARDINER of whom we write, was the son of *Captain Patrick Gardiner*, of the family of *Torwood Head*, by *Mrs Mary Hodge*, of the family of *Gladsmuir*. The *Captain*, who was master of a handsome estate, served many years in the army of *King William* and *Queen Anne*, and died abroad with the *British* forces in *Germany*, quickly after the battle of *Hochstet*, through the fatigues he underwent in the duties of that celebrated campaign. He had a company in the regiment of *foot*, once commanded by *Colonel Hodge*, his valiant brother-in-law, who was slain at the head of that regiment, (my memorial from *Scotland* says) at the battle of *Steenkirk*, which was fought in the year 1692.

§ 6. *Mrs Gardiner*, our *Colonel's mother*, was a lady of a very valuable character; but it pleased *God* to exercise her with very uncommon trials: For she not only lost her husband and her brother in the service of their country, as before related, but also her eldest son, *Mr Robert Gardiner*, on the day which completed the 16th year of his age, at the siege of *Namur* in 1695. But there is great reason to believe, *God* blessed these various and heavy afflictions, as the means of forming her to that eminent degree

gree of piety, which will render her memory honourable as long as it continues.

§ 7. Her second son, the worthy person of whom I am now to give a more particular account, was born at *Carriden* in *Linlithgawshire*, on the 10th of *January*, A. D. 1687-8; the memorable year of that glorious *Revolution* which he justly esteemed among the happiest of all events. So that when he was slain in the defence of those liberties which God then by so gracious a providence rescued from utter destruction, *i. e.* on the 21st of *September*, 1745, he was aged 57 years, 8 months, and 1 days.

§ 8. The annual return of his *birth-day* was observed by him, in the latter and better years of his life, in a manner very different from what is commonly practised: For instead of making it a day of festivity, I am told, he rather distinguished it as a season of more than ordinary humiliation before God; both in commemoration of those mercies which he received in the first opening of life, and under an affectionate sense, as well of his long alienation from the Great Author and support of his being, as of the many imperfections which he lamented, in the best of his days and services.

§ 9. I have not met with many things remarkable concerning the early years of his life, only that his *mother* took care to instruct him with

with great tenderness and affection, in the principles of true Christianity. He was also trained up in human literature at the school at *Linlithgow*, where he made a very considerable progress in the languages. I remember to have heard him quote some passages of the *Latin Classics* very pertinently; though his employment in life, and the various turns which his mind took under different impulses in succeeding years, prevented him from cultivating such studies.

§ 10. The good effects of his *mother's* prudent and exemplary care were not so conspicuous as she wished and hoped, in the younger part of her son's life; yet there is great reason to believe, they were not entirely lost. As they were probably the occasion of many convictions, which in his younger years were over-borne; so I doubt not, that when religious impressions took that strong hold of his heart, which they afterwards did, that stock of knowledge which had been so early laid up in his mind, was found of considerable service. And I have heard them make the observation, as an encouragement to parents, and other pious friends, to do their duty, and to hope for those good consequences of it which may not immediately appear.

§ 11. Could his *mother*, or a very religious *aunt*, (of whose good instructions and exhortations

hortations I have often heard him speak with pleasure,) have prevailed, he would not have thought of a *military life* ; from which, it is no wonder, these ladies endeavoured to dissuade him, considering the mournful experience they had of the dangers attending it, and the dear relatives they had lost already by it. But it suited his taste ; and the ardor of his spirit, animated by the persuasions of a friend who greatly urged it †, was not to be restrained. Nor will the Reader wonder, that thus excited and supported, it easily overbore their tender remonstrances, when he knows, that this lively youth fought *three duels* before he attained to the stature of a man ; in one of which, when he was but eight years old, he received from a boy much older than himself, a wound in his right cheek, the scar of which was always very apparent. The false sense of honour which instigated him to it, might seem indeed something excuseable, in those unripened years, and considering the profession of his father, brother, and uncle ; but I have often heard him mention this rashness with that regret, which the reflection would naturally give to so wise and good a man in the maturity

† I suppose this to have been *Brigadier General Rue*, who had from his childhood a peculiar affection for him.

maturity of life. And I have been informed, that after his remarkable conversion, he declined accepting a challenge, with this calm and truly great reply, which in a man of his experienced bravery was exceeding graceful: "I fear sinning, though you know I do not fear fighting."

§ 12. He served first as a *Cadet*, which must have been very early; and then, at fourteen years old, he bore an *Ensign's* commission in a *Scots* regiment in the *Dutch* service; in which he continued till the year 1702, when (if my information be right) he received an *Ensign's* commission from *Queen Anne*, which he bore in the battle of *Ramillies*, being then in the nineteenth year of his age. In this ever-memorable action, he received a wound in his mouth by a musket-ball, which hath often been reported to be the occasion of his conversion. That report was a mistaken one; but as some very remarkable circumstances attended this affair, which I have had the pleasure of hearing more than once from his own mouth, I hope my Reader will excuse me, if I give him so uncommon a story at large.

§ 13. Our young officer was of a party in the *Forlorn Hope*, and was commanded on what seemed almost a desperate service, to dispossess the *French* of the church-yard at *Ramillies*, where a considerable number of them were posted to
remarkable

remarkable advantage. They succeeded much better than was expected; and it may well be supposed, that Mr *Gardiner*, who had before been in several encounters, and had the view of making his fortune to animate the natural intrepidity of his spirit, was glad of signaling himself. Accordingly he had planted his colours on an advanced ground; and while he was calling to his men, (probably in that horrid language which is so peculiar a disgrace to our soldiery, and so absurdly common in such articles of extreme danger,) he received a shot into his mouth; which, without beating out any of his teeth, or touching the fore-part of his tongue, went through his neck, and came out about an inch and an half on the left-side of the *Vertebra*. Not feeling at first the pain of the stroke, he wondered what was become of the ball, and in the wildness of his surprize, began to suspect he had swallowed it; but dropping soon after, he traced the passage of it by his finger, when he could discover it no other way; which I mention as one circumstance among many which occur, to make it probable that the greater part of those who fall in battle by these instruments of death, feel very little anguish from the most mortal wounds.

§ 14. This accident happened about five or six in the evening, on the 23d day of *May*,
in

in the year 1706; and the army pursuing its advantages against the *French*, without ever regarding the wounded, (which was, it seems, the Duke of *Marlborough's* constant method,) our young officer lay all night in the field, agitated, as may well be supposed, with a great variety of thoughts. He assured me, that when he reflected upon the circumstances of his wound, that a ball should, as he then conceived it, go through his head without killing him, he thought God had preserved him, by miracle; and therefore assuredly concluded, that he should live, abandoned and desperate as his state then seemed to be. Yet, (which to me appeared very astonishing,) he had little thoughts of humbling himself before God, and returning to him after the wanderings of a life so licentiously begun. But expecting to recover, his mind was taken up with contrivances to secure his gold, of which he had a pretty deal about him; and he had recourse to a very odd expedient, which proved successful. Expecting to be stripped, he first took out a handful of that clotted gore, of which he was frequently obliged to clear his mouth, or he would have been choaked; and putting it into his left-hand, he took out his money, (which I think was about 19 pistoles,) and shutting his hands, and besmearing the back part of it with blood, he kept it in this position till the
blood

blood dried in such a manner, that his hand could not easily fall open, though any sudden surprise should happen, in which he might lose the presence of mind which that concealment otherwise would have required.

§ 15. In the morning the *French*, who were masters of that spot, though their forces were defeated at some distance, came to plunder the slain; and seeing him to appearance almost expiring, one of them was just applying a sword to his breast, to destroy the little remainder of life; when in the critical moment, upon which all the extraordinary events of such a life as his afterwards proved were suspended, a *Cordelier*, who attended the plunderers, interposed, taking him by his dress for a *Frenchman*; and said, "Do not kill that poor child." Our young soldier heard all that passed, though he was not able to speak one word; and, opening his eyes, made a sign for something to drink. They gave him a cup of some spirituous liquor, which happened to be at hand; by which he said he found a more sensible refreshment than he could remember from any thing he had tasted either before or since. Then signifying to the *Friar* to lean down his ear to his mouth, he employed the first efforts of his feeble breath in telling him, (what, alas! was a contrived falsehood,) that he was nephew to the Governor of *Huy*, a neutral town in the neighbourhood,

neighbourhood, and that, if he could take any method of conveying him thither, he did not doubt but his uncle would liberally reward him. He had indeed a friend at *Huy*, (who I think was Governor, and, if I mistake not, had been acquainted with the *Captain* his father,) from whom he expected a kind reception: But the relation was only pretended. On hearing this, they laid him on a sort of hand-barrow, and sent him by a file of musqueteers towards the place; but the men lost their way, and got into a wood towards the evening, in which they were obliged to continue all night. The poor patient's wound being still undressed, it is not to be wondered that by this time it raged violently. The anguish of it engaged him earnestly to beg, that they would either kill him outright, or leave him there to die, without the torture of any farther motion; and indeed they were obliged to rest for a considerable time, on account of their own weariness. Thus he spent the second night in the open air, without any thing more than a common bandage to stanch the blood. He hath often mentioned it as a most astonishing providence, that he did not bleed to death; which, under God, he ascribed to the remarkable coldness of these two nights.

§ 16. Judging it quite unsafe to attempt carrying him to *Huy*, from whence they were now
several

several miles distant, his convoy took him early in the morning to a *Convent* in the neighbourhood ; where he was hospitably received, and treated with great kindness and tenderness. But the cure of his wound was committed to an ignorant barber surgeon, who lived near the house ; the best shift that could then be made, at a time when it may easily be supposed persons of ability in their profession had their hands full of employment. The tent which this artist applied, was almost like a peg driven into the wound ; and gentlemen of skill and experience, when they came to hear of the manner in which he was treated, wondered how he could possibly survive such management. But by the blessing of God on these applications, rough as they were, he recovered in a few months. The *Lady Abbess*, who called him her son, treated him with the affection and care of a mother ; and he always declared, that every thing which he saw within these walls, was conducted with the strictest decency and decorum. He received a great many devout admonitions from the ladies there ; and they would fain have perswaded him to acknowledge what they thought so miraculous a deliverance, by embracing the *Catholic Faith*, as they were pleased to call it. But they could not succeed : For though no religion lay near his heart, yet he had too much of the spirit of a gentleman,

gentleman, lightly to change that form of religion which he wore (as it were) loose about him; as well as too much good sense, to swallow those monstrous absurdities of popery, which immediately presented themselves to him, unacquainted as he was with the niceties of the controversy.

§ 17. When his liberty was regained by an exchange of prisoners, and his health thoroughly established, he was far from *rendering unto the Lord* according to that wonderful display of divine mercy which he had experienced. I know very little of the particulars of those wild, thoughtless, and wretched years, which lay between the 19th and the 30th of his life; except it be, that he frequently experienced the divine goodness in renewed instances, particularly in preserving him in several hot military actions, in all which he never received so much as a wound after this, forward as he was in tempting danger; and yet, that all these years were spent in an entire alienation from God, and an eager pursuit of animal pleasure, as his supreme good. The series of *criminal amours*, in which he was almost incessantly engaged during this time, must probably have afforded some remarkable adventures and occurrences; but the memory of them is perished. Nor do I think it unworthy notice here, that amidst all the intimacy of this friend-

ship, and the many hours of chearful as well as serious converse which we spent together, I never remember to have heard him speak of any of these intrigues, otherwise than in the general with deep and solemn abhorrence. This I the rather mention, as it seemed a most genuine proof of his unfeigned repentance; which I think there is great reason to suspect, when people seem to take a pleasure in relating and describing scenes of vicious indulgence, which yet they profess to have disapproved and forsaken.

§ 18. Amidst all these pernicious wanderings from the paths of religion, virtue, and happiness, he approved himself so well in his military character, that he was made a *Lieutenant* in that year, viz. 1706: And am told, he was very quickly after promoted to a *Cornet's* commission in *Lord Stair's* regiment of the *Scots Greys*; and on the 31st of *January*, in the year 1714-15, was made *Captain-Lieutenant* in *Colonel Ker's* regiment of dragoons. He had the honour of being known to the *Earl of Stair* some time before, and was made his *Aid de Camp*; and when, upon his Lordship's being appointed *Embassador* from his late Majesty to the court of *France*, he made so splendid an entrance into *Paris*, *Captain Gardiner* was his *master of the horse*; and I have been told, that a great deal of the care of that admirably well adjusted ceremony

ny fell upon him; so that he gained great credit by the manner in which he conducted it. Under the benign influences of his Lordship's favour, (which to the last day of his life he retained,) a *Captain's* commission was procured for him, (dated *July* 22d, in the year 1715,) in the regiment of dragoons commanded by *Colonel Stanhope*, (now *Earl of Harrington*;) and in the year 1717, he was advanced to the majority of that regiment; in which office he continued till it was reduced, on *November* the 10th, 1718; when he was put out of commission. But then his majesty *King George I.* was so thoroughly apprised of his faithful and important services, that he gave him his *sign manual*, entitling him to the *first majority* that should become vacant in any regiment of horse or dragoons, which happened about five years after, to be in *Croft's* regiment of dragoons, in which he received a commission, dated *June* the 1st, 1724; and on the 20th of *July* the same year, he was made *major* of an older regiment, commanded by the *Earl of Stair*.

§ 19. As I am now speaking of so many of his *military preferments*, I will dispatch the account of them by observing, that on the 24th *January*, 1729-30, he was advanced to the rank of *Lieutenant-Colonel* in the same regiment, long under the command of *Lord Cadogan*; with

whose friendship this brave and vigilant officer was also honoured for many years. And he continued in this rank, and regiment, till the 10th of *April*, 1743, when he received a *Colonel's* commission over a regiment of dragoons, lately commanded by *Brigadier Bland*; at the head of which he valiantly fell, in the defence of his Sovereign and his country, about two years and a half after he received it.

§ 20. We will now return to that period of life which passed at *Paris*, the scene of such remarkable and important events. He continued (if I remember right,) several years under the roof of the brave and generous *Earl of Stair*; to whom he endeavoured to approve himself by every instance of diligent and faithful service. And his Lordship gave no inconsiderable proof of the dependance which he had upon him, when, in the beginning of the year 1711, he entrusted him with the important dispatches, relating to a discovery, which, by a series of admirable policy, he had made, of a design which the *French King* was then forming, for invading *Great Britain* in favour of the *Pretender*; in which the *French* apprehended they were so sure of success, that it seemed a point of friendship in one of the chief counsellors of that court, to dissuade a dependant of his from accepting some employment under his *Britannic Majesty*,
when

when proposed by his envoy there; because it was said, that in less than six weeks there would be a *revolution*, in favour of what they called the family of the *Stuarts*. The *Captain* dispatched his journey with the utmost speed; a variety of circumstances happily concurred to accelerate it; and they, who remember how soon the regiments which that emergency required were raised and armed, will, I doubt not, esteem it a memorable instance, both of the most cordial zeal in the friends of the government, and of the gracious care of Divine Providence, over the house of *Hanover*, and the *British* liberties, so incomparably connected with its interests.

§ 21. While *Captain Gardiner* was at *London*, in one of the journies he made upon this occasion, he, with that frankness which was natural to him, and which in those days was not always under the most prudent restraint, ventured to predict, from what he knew of the bad state of the *French* king's health, that he would not live six weeks. This was made known by some spies who were at *St James's*, and came to be reported at the court of *Versailles*; for he received letters from some friends at *Paris*, advising him not to return thither, unless he could reconcile himself to a lodging in the *Bastile*. But he was soon free from that apprehension; for, if I mistake not, before half that time was accom-

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§ 20. We will now return to that period of life which passed at *Paris*, the scene of such remarkable and important events. He continued (if I remember right,) several years under the roof of the brave and generous *Earl of Stair*; to whom he endeavoured to approve himself by every instance of diligent and faithful service. And his Lordship gave no inconsiderable proof of the dependance which he had upon him, when, in the beginning of the year 1711, he entrusted him with the important dispatches, relating to a discovery, which, by a series of admirable policy, he had made, of a design which the *French King* was then forming, for invading *Great Britain* in favour of the *Pretender*; in which the *French* apprehended they were so sure of success, that it seemed a point of friendship in one of the chief counsellors of that court, to dissuade a dependant of his from accepting some employment under his *Britannic Majesty*,
when

when proposed by his envoy there ; because it was said, that in less than six weeks there would be a *revolution*, in favour of what they called the family of the *Stuarts*. The *Captain* dispatched his journey with the utmost speed ; a variety of circumstances happily concurred to accelerate it ; and they, who remember how soon the regiments which that emergency required were raised and armed, will, I doubt not, esteem it a memorable instance, both of the most cordial zeal in the friends of the government, and of the gracious care of Divine Providence, over the house of *Hanover*, and the *British* liberties, so incomparably connected with its interest.

§ 21. While *Captain Gardiner* was at *London*, in one of the journies he made upon this occasion, he, with that frankness which was natural to him, and which in those days was not always under the most prudent restraint, ventured to predict, from what he knew of the bad state of the *French* king's health, that he would not live six weeks. This was made known by some spies who were at *St James's*, and came to be reported at the court of *Versailles* ; for he received letters from some friends at *Paris*, advising him not to return thither, unless he could reconcile himself to a lodging in the *Bastile*. But he was soon free from that apprehension ; for, if I mistake not, before half that time was accom-

plished, *Lewis XIV.* died *; and, it is generally thought, his death was hastened by a very accidental circumstance, which had some reference to the *Captain's* prophecy. For the last time he ever dined in publick, which was a very little while after the report of it had been made there, he happened to discover *our British Envoy* among the spectators. The penetration of this illustrious person was too great, and his attachment to the interest of his royal master too well known, not to render him very disagreeable to that crafty and tyrannical prince, whom God had so long suffered to be the disgrace of monarchy, and the scourge of *Europe*. He at first appeared very languid, as indeed he was; but on casting his eye upon the *Earl of Stair*, he affected to appear before him in a much better state of health than he really was; and therefore, as if he had been awakened on a sudden from some deep *reverie*, immediately put himself into an erect posture, called up a laboured vivacity into his countenance, and eat much more heartily than was by any means adviseable, repeating it two or three times to a nobleman (I think the *Duke of Bourbon*,) than in waiting, "Methinks I eat very well, for a man who is to die so soon †." But this inroad upon that regularity of

* Sept. 1. 1715.

† *Il me semble, que je ne mange pas mal pour un homme qui devoit mourir si tot.*

of living, which he had for some time observed, agreed so ill with him, that he never recovered this meal, but died in less than a fortnight. This gave occasion for some humorous people to say, that *Old Lewis*, after all, was killed by a *Briton*. But if this story be true, (which I think there can be no room to doubt, as the *Colonel*, from whom I have often heard it, though absent, could scarce be misinformed,) it might more properly be said, that he fell by *his own vanity*; in which view I thought it so remarkable, as not to be unworthy a place in these memoirs.

§ 22. The *Captain* quickly returned, and continued with small interruptions at *Paris*, at least till the year 1720, and how much longer I do not certainly know. The *Earl's* favour and generosity made him easy in his affairs, though he was (as has been observed above,) part of the time *out of commission*, by breaking the regiment to which he belonged, of which before he was *Major*. This was, in all probability, the gayest part of his life, and the most criminal. Whatever wise and good examples he might find in the family where he had the honour to reside, it is certain that the *French* court, during the regency of the *Duke of Orleans*, was one of the most dissolute under heaven. What, by a wretched abuse of language, have been called *Intrigues of love and gallantry*, were so entirely to the

Major's then degenerate taste, that if not the whole *business*, at least the whole *happiness*, of his life, consisted in them ; and he had now too much leisure, for one who was so prone to abuse it. His fine constitution, than which perhaps there was hardly ever a better, gave him great opportunities of indulging himself in these excesses; and his good spirits enabled him to pursue his pleasures of every kind, in so alert and sprightly a manner, that multitudes envied him, and called him by a dreadful kind of compliment, The happy rake.

§ 23. Yet still the checks of conscience, and some remaining principles of so good an education, would break in upon his most licentious hours ; and I particularly remember he told me, that when some of his dissolute companions were once congratulating him on his distinguished felicity, a dog happening at that time to come into the room, he could not forbear groaning inwardly, and saying to himself, " Oh that I " were that dog ! " Such was then *his happiness* ; and such perhaps is that of hundreds more, who bear themselves highest in the contempt of religion, and glory in that infamous *servitude* which they affect to call *liberty*. But these remonstrances of reason and conscience were in vain ; and, in short, he carried things so far, in this wretched part of his life, that I am well assured, some sober *English* gentlemen, who made

made no great pretences to religion, how agreeable soever he might have been to them on other accounts, rather declined than sought his company, as fearing they might have been insnared and corrupted by it.

§ 24. Yet I cannot find, that in these most abandoned days, he was fond of *drinking*. Indeed he never had any natural relish for that kind of intemperance, from which he used to think a manly pride might be sufficient to preserve persons of sense and spirit; as by it they give up every thing that distinguishes them from the meanest of their species, or indeed from animals the most below it. So that, if he ever fell into any excesses of this kind, it was merely out of complaisance to his company, and that he might not appear stiff and singular. His frank, obliging, and generous temper, procured him many friends; and these principles, which rendered him amiable to others, not being under the direction of true wisdom and piety, sometimes made him, in the ways of living he pursued, more uneasy to himself than he might perhaps have been if he could entirely have outgrown them; especially as he was never a *sceptic* in his principles, but still retained a secret apprehension, that natural and revealed religion, though he did not much care to think of either, were founded in truth. And

with this conviction, his notorious violations of the most essential precepts of both, could not but occasion some secret misgivings of heart. His continual neglect of the great Author of his being, of whose perfections he could not doubt, and to whom he knew himself to be under daily and perpetual obligations, gave him, in some moments of involuntary reflection, inexpressible remorse; and this, at times, wrought upon him to such a degree, that he resolved he would attempt to pay him some acknowledgments. Accordingly for a few mornings he did it; repeating in retirement some passages out of the *Psalms*, and perhaps other scriptures, which he still retained in his memory; and owning, in a few strong words, the many mercies and deliverances he had received, and the ill returns he had made for them.

§ 25. I find, among the other *papers* transmitted to me, the following *verses*, which I have heard him repeat, as what had impressed him a good deal in his unconverted state: and as I suppose they did something towards setting him on this effort towards devotion, and might probably furnish out a part of these orisons, I hope I need make no apology to my reader for inserting them, especially as I do not recollect that I have seen them any where else.

Attend,

Attend, my soul! The early birds inspire
 My grov'ling thought with pure celestial fire:
 They from their temp'rate sleep awake, and pay
 Their thankful anthems for the new-born day.
 See, how the tuneful lark is mounted high,
 And, poet like, salutes the Eastern sky!
 He warbles thro' the fragrant air his lays,
 And seems the beauties of the morn to praise.
 But man, more void of gratitude, awakes,
 And gives no thanks for the sweet rest he
 takes;
 Looks on the glorious sun's new kindled flame,
 Without one thought of him from whom it
 came.

• The wretch unhallow'd does the day begin;
 Shakes off his sleep, but shakes not off his sin.

§ 26. But these strains were too devout to continue long in a heart as yet quite un sanctified: for how readily soever he could repeat such acknowledgments of the Divine power, presence, and goodness, and own his own follies and faults; he was stopt short by the remonstrances of his conscience, as to the flagrant absurdity of confessing sins he did not desire to forsake, and of pretending to praise God for his mercies, when he did not endeavour to live to his service, and to behave in such a manner as gratitude, if sincere, would plainly dictate. A

model of devotion, where such sentiments made no part, his good sense could not digest; and the use of such language before an heart-searching God, merely as an hypocritical form, while the sentiments of his soul were contrary to it, justly appear to him such daring profaneness, that, irregular as the state of his mind was, the thought of it struck him with horror. Hetherefore determined to make no more attempts of this sort; and was perhaps one of the first that deliberately laid aside prayer, from some sense of God's omniscience, and some natural principle of honour and conscience.

§ 27. These secret debates with himself, and ineffectual efforts, would sometimes return: but they were over-borne, again and again, by the force of temptation; and it is no wonder, that in consequence of them his heart grew yet harder. Nor was it softened, or awakened, by some very memorable *deliverances*, which at this time he received. — He was in extreme danger by a fall from his horse, as he was riding post, (I think, in the streets of *Calais*,) when going down a hill, the horse threw him over his head, and pitched over him; so that, when he rose, the beast lay beyond him, and almost dead. Yet though he received not the least harm, it made no serious impression on his mind. — In his return from *England* in
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the packet-boat, (if I remember right but a few weeks after the former accident,) a violent storm, that drove them up to *Harwich*, tossed them from thence for several hours in a dark night on the coast of *Holland*, and brought them into such extremity, that the captain of the vessel urged him to go to prayers immediately, if he ever intended to do it at all; for he concluded, they would in a few minutes be at the bottom of the sea. In this circumstance he did pray, and that very fervently too: and it was very remarkable, that while he was crying to GOD for deliverance, the wind fell, and quickly after they arrived at *Calais*. But the *major* was so little affected with what had befallen him, that when some of his gay friends, on hearing the story, rallied him upon the efficacy of his prayers, he excused himself from the scandal of being thought much in earnest, by saying, "that it was at midnight, an hour when his good *mother* and *aunt* were asleep; or else he should have left that part of the business to them." A speech which I should not have mentioned, but as it shews in so lively a view the wretched situation of his mind at that time, though his great deliverance from the power of darkness was then nearly approaching. He recounted these things to me with the greatest humility, as shewing how utterly unworthy he was of that miracle of divine grace,

by

by which he was quickly after brought to so true, and so prevalent, a sense of religion.

§ 28. And now I am come to that astonishing part of his story, the account of *his conversion*; which I cannot enter upon without assuring the reader, that I have sometimes been tempted to suppress many circumstances of it; not only as they may seem incredible to some, and enthusiastical to others, but as I am very sensible they are liable to great abuses; which was the reason that he gave me for concealing the most extraordinary from many persons to whom he mentioned some of the rest. And I believe it was this, together with the desire of avoiding every thing that might look like ostentation on this head, that prevented his leaving a written account of it; though I have often intreated him to do it: as I particularly remember I did, in the very last letter I ever wrote him; and pleaded the possibility of his falling amidst those dangers to which I knew his valour might in such circumstances naturally expose him. I was not so happy as to receive any answer to this letter, which reached him but a few days before his death: nor can I certainly say, whether he had, or had not, complied with my request; as it is very possible a paper of that kind, if it were written, might be lost amidst the ravages

ravages which the *rebels* made when they plundered *Bankton*.

§ 29. The story however was so remarkable, that I had little reason to apprehend I should ever forget it; and yet, to guard against all contingencies of that kind, I wrote it down that very evening, as I had heard it from his own mouth; and I have now before me the memoirs of that conversation, dated *Aug. 14, 1739*, which conclude with these words, (which I added, that if we should both have died that night, the world might not have lost this edifying and affecting history, or have wanted any attestation of it I was capable of giving:;) "*N. B.* I have written down this account with all the exactness I am capable of, and could safely take an oath of it as to the truth of every circumstance, to the best of my remembrance, as the *Colonel* related it to me a few hours ago." I do not know, that I had reviewed this paper since I wrote it till I set myself thus publicly to record this extraordinary fact; but I find it punctually to agree with what I have often related from my memory, which I charged carefully with so wonderful and important a fact. It is with all solemnity that I now deliver it down to posterity, as in the sight and presence of God, and I chuse deliberately to expose myself to those severe censures, which the haughty, but

but empty, scorn of *infidelity*, or principles nearly approaching it, and effectually doing its pernicious work, may very probably dictate upon the occasion; rather than to smother a relation, which may, in the judgment of my conscience, be like to conduce so much to the glory of God, the honour of the gospel, and the good of mankind. One thing more I will only premise, that, I hope, none who have heard the *Colonel* himself speak something of this wonderful scene, will be surpris'd if they find some new circumstances here; because he assur'd me, at the time he first gave me the whole narration, (which was in the very room in which I now write,) that he had never imparted it so fully to any man living before. Yet, at the same time, he gave me full liberty to communicate it, to whomsoever I should in my conscience judge it might be useful to do it, whether before, or after his death. Accordingly I did, while he was alive, recount almost every circumstance I am now going to write, to several pious friends; referring them at the same time to the *Colonel* himself, whenever they might have an opportunity of seeing or writing to him, for a farther confirmation of what I told them, if they judg'd it requisite. They glorified G O D in him; and I humbly hope, many of my readers will also do it. They will soon perceive the reason of so much

much caution in my introduction to this story, for which therefore I shall make no further apology †.

§ 30. This memorable event happened towards the middle of *July*, 1719; but I cannot be exact as to the day. The *Major* had spent the evening (and, if I mistake not, it was the sabbath,) in some gay company, and had an unhappy assignation with a married woman, of what rank or quality I did not particularly inquire, whom he was to attend exactly at twelve. The company broke up about eleven; and not judging it convenient to anticipate the time appointed,

† It is no small satisfaction to me, since I wrote this, to have received a *letter* from the Rev. Mr. *Spears*, minister of the gospel at *Bruntisland*, dated *Jan. 4, 1746-7*, in which he relates to me this whole story, as he had it from the *Colonel's* own mouth, about four years after he gave me the narration. There is not a single circumstance, in which either of our narrations disagree; and every one of the particulars in mine, which seem most astonishing, are attested by this, and sometimes in stronger words; one only excepted, on which I shall add a short remark when I come to it. As this *letter* was written near *Lady Frances Gardiner*, at her desire, and attended with a postscript from her own hand, this is, in effect, a sufficient attestation how agreeable it was to those accounts which she must have often heard the *Colonel* give of this matter.

pointed, he went into the chamber to *kill the tedious hour*, perhaps with some amusing books, or some other way. But it very accidentally happened, that he took up a religious book, which his good *mother* or *aunt* had, without his knowledge, slipped into his portmanteau. It was called, as I remember the title exactly, *The Christian Soldier, or Heaven taken by Storm*; and was written by *Mr. Thomas Watson*. Gueſſing by the title of it, that he ſhould find ſome phraſes of his own profeſſion ſpiritualized, in a manner which he thought might afford him ſome diverſion, he reſolved to dip into it; but he took no ſerious notice of any thing he read in it: and yet, while this book was in his hand, an impreſſion was made upon his mind, (perhaps God only knows how,) which drew after it a train of the moſt important and happy conſequences.

§ 31. There is indeed a poſſibility, that while he was ſitting in this attitude, and reading in this careleſs and prophane manner, he might ſuddenly fall aſleep, and only *dream* of what he apprehended he ſaw. But nothing can be more certain, than that, when he gave me this relation, he judged himſelf to have been as broad awake, during the whole time, as he was in any part of his life; and he mentioned it to me ſeveral times afterwards as what undoubtedly.

ly passed, not only in his imagination, but before his eyes *.

§ 32. He thought he saw an unusual blaze of light fall on the book while he was reading, which he at first imagined might happen by some accident in the candle. But lifting up his eyes, he apprehended, to his extreme amazement, that there was before him, as it were suspended in the air, a visible representation of the Lord JESUS CHRIST upon the cross, surrounded on all sides with a glory; and was impressed, as if a voice, or something equivalent to a voice, had come to him, to this effect, (for he was not confident as to the very words,) "Oh, sinner! did

* *Mr. Spears*, in the letter mentioned above, where he introduces the *Colonel* telling his own story, has these words: "All of a sudden there was presented in a very lively manner, to my view or to my mind, a representation of my glorious Redeemer, &c."—And this gentleman adds, in a parenthesis, "It was so lively and striking, that he could not tell, whether it was to his bodily eyes, or to those of his mind." This makes me think, that what I had said to him on the phenomena of visions, apparitions, &c. (as being, when most real, supernatural impressions on the imagination, rather than attended with any external object) had some influence upon him. Yet still it is evident, he looked upon this as a vision, whether it were before the eyes or in the mind, and not as a dream.

did I suffer this for thee, and are these the returns?" But whether this were an audible voice, or only a strong impression on his mind equally striking, he did not seem very confident; though, to the best of my remembrance, he rather judged it to be the former. Struck with so amazing a *Phænomenon* as this, there remained hardly any life in him, so that he sunk down in the arm-chair, in which he sat, and continued, he knew not exactly how long, insensible; (which was one circumstance, that made me several times take the liberty to suggest, that he might possibly be all this while asleep :) but however that were, he quickly after opened his eyes, and saw nothing more than usual.

§ 33. It may easily be supposed, he was in no condition to make any observations upon the time in which he had remained in an insensible state. Nor did he, throughout all the remainder of the night, once recollect that criminal and detestable affligation, which had before engrossed all his thoughts. He rose in a tumult of passions, not to be conceived; and walked to and fro in his chamber, till he was ready to drop down, in unutterable astonishment and agony of heart; appearing to himself the vilest monster in the creation of God, who had all his lifetime been *crucifying Christ* afresh by his sins,
and

and now *saw*, as he assuredly believed, *by a miraculous vision*, the horror of what he had done. With this was connected such a view, both of the majesty and goodness of GOD, as caused him to lothe and *abhor himself*, and to *repent as in dust and ashes*. He immediately gave judgment against himself, that he was most justly worthy of eternal damnation: he was astonished, that he had not been immediately struck dead in the midst of his wickedness; and (which I think deserves particular remark), though he assuredly believed that he should ere long be in hell, and settled it as a point with himself for several months, that the wisdom and justice of GOD, did almost necessarily require, that such an enormous sinner should be made an example of everlasting vengeance, and a *spectacle* as such *both to angels and men*, so that he hardly durst presume to pray for pardon; yet what he then suffered, was not so much from the fear of hell, though he concluded it would soon be his portion, as from a sense of that horrible ingratitude he had shewn to the GOD of his life, and to that blessed Redeemer, who had been in so affecting a manner *set forth as crucified before him*.

§ 34. To this he refers in a *letter*, dated from Douglas, April 1, 1725. communicated to me
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by *his Lady* †, but I know not to whom it was addressed. His words are these: "One thing relating to my conversion, and a remarkable instance of the goodness of *GOD* to me, *the chief of sinners*, I do not remember that I ever told to any other person. It was this; that after the *astonishing sight I had of my blessed Lord*, the terrible condition in which I was, proceeded not so much from the terrors of the law, as from a sense of having been so ungrateful a monster to Him whom *I thought I*
"saw

† *N. B.* Where I make any extracts as from *Colonel Gardiner's letters*, they are either from originals, which I have in my own hands; or from copies, which were transmitted to me from persons of undoubted credit, chiefly by the Right Honorable the *Lady Frances Gardiner*, through the hand of the *Rev. Mr. Webster*, one of the ministers of *Edinburgh*. This I the rather mention, because some letters have been brought to me as *Colonel Gardiner's*, concerning which I have not only been very dubious, but morally certain, that they could not have been written by him. I have also heard of many, who have been fond of assuring the world, that they were well acquainted with him, and were near him when he fell, whose reports have been most inconsistent with each other, as well as contrary to that testimony relating to the circumstances of *his death*, which, on the whole appeared to me beyond controversy the most natural and authentic: from whence therefore I shall take my account of that affecting scene.

"*saw pierced for my transgressions.*" I the rather insert these words, as they evidently attest the circumstance which may seem most amazing in this affair, and contain so express a declaration of his own apprehension concerning it.

§ 35. In this view it may naturally be supposed that he passed the remainder of the night waking; and he could get but little rest in several that followed. His mind was continually taken up in reflecting on the divine purity and goodness; the grace which had been proposed to him in the gospel, and which he had rejected; the singular advantages he had enjoyed and abused; and the many favours of providence which he had received, particularly in rescuing him from so many imminent dangers of death, which he now saw must have been attended with such dreadful and hopeless destruction. The privileges of his education, which he had so much despised, now lay with an almost insupportable weight on his mind; and the folly of that career of sinful pleasure, which he had so many years been running with desperate eagerness and unworthy delight, now filled him with indignation against himself, and against the great deceiver, by whom (to use his own phrase,) he had been "so wretchedly and scandalously befooled." This he used often

to express in the strongest terms ; which I shall not repeat so particularly, as I can recollect some of them. But on the whole it is certain, that by what passed before he left his chamber the next day, the whole frame and disposition of his soul was new-modelled and changed ; so that he became, and continued to the last day of his exemplary and truly Christian life, the very reverse of what he had been before. A variety of particulars, which I am afterwards to mention, will illustrate this in the most convincing manner. But I cannot proceed to them, without pausing a while to adore so illustrious an instance of the power and freedom of divine grace, and intreating my reader seriously to reflect upon it, that his own heart may be suitably affected : for surely, if the truth of the fact be admitted in the lowest views in which it can be placed, (that is, supposing the first impression to have passed in a *dream*,) it must be allowed to have been little, if any thing less than *miraculous*. It cannot in the course of nature be imagined how *such a dream* should arise in a mind full of the most impure ideas and affections, and (as he himself often pleaded,) more alienated from the thoughts of a *crucified Saviour*, than from any other object that can be conceived : nor can we surely suppose it should, without a mighty energy of the
divine

divine power, be effectual to produce not only some transient flow of passion, but so entire and so permanent a change in character and conduct.

§ 36. On the whole therefore, I must beg leave to express my own sentiments of the matter, by repeating on this occasion what I wrote several years ago, in my *eighth sermon on regeneration*, in a passage dictated chiefly by the circumstantial knowledge which I had of this amazing story, and methinks sufficiently vindicated by it, if it stood entirely alone; which yet, I must take the liberty to say, it does not: for I hope the world will be particularly informed, that there is at least a second, that very nearly approaches it, whenever the established *church of England* shall lose one of its brightest living ornaments, and one of the most useful members, which that, or perhaps any other Christian communion, can boast: in the mean time, may his exemplary life be long continued, and his zealous ministry abundantly prospered! I beg my reader's pardon for this digression. The passage I referred to above is remarkably, though not equally, applicable to both the cases, as it stands in *page 263*, of the first edition, and *page 160*, of the second; under that head where I am shewing, that God sometimes accomplishes the great work of which we speak,

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by *secret immediate impressions on the mind*. After preceding illustrations, there are the following words, on which the *Colonel's* conversion will throw the justest light: "Yea, I have
" known those of distinguished genius, polite
" manners, and great experience in human
" affairs, who, after having out-grown all the
" impressions of a religious education, after
" having been hardened, rather than subdued
" by the most singular mercies, even various,
" repeated, and astonishing deliverances, which
" have appeared to themselves no less than mi-
" raculous; after having lived for years *without*
" *G O D* in the world, notoriously corrupt them-
" selves and labouring to the utmost to corrupt
" others; have been stopt on a sudden in the
" full career of their sin, and have felt such *rays*
" of the *divine presence* and of *redeeming love*,
" darting in upon their minds almost like light-
" ning from heaven, as have at once roused,
" over-powered, and transformed them: so that
" they have come out of their *secret chambers*
" with an irreconcilable enmity to those vices,
" to which, when they entered them, they were
" the tamest and most abandoned slaves; and
" have appeared from that very hour the ivo-
" raries, the patrons, the champions of religion;
" and after a course of the most resolute at-
" tachment to it, in spite of all the reasonings
" or

“ or the railleries, the importunities or the reproaches, of its enemies, they have continued to this day some of its brightest ornaments : a change, which I behold with equal wonder and delight, and which, if a nation should join in deriding it, I would adore as *the finger of God.*”

§ 37. The mind of *Major Gardiner* continued from this remarkable time till towards the end of *October*, (that is, rather more than three months, but especially the two first of them) in as extraordinary a situation as one can well imagine. He knew nothing of the joys arising from a sense of pardon ; but, on the contrary, for the greater part of that time, and with very short intervals of hope towards the end of it, took it for granted, that he must, in all probability, quickly perish. Nevertheless, he had such a sense of the evil of sin, of the goodness of the Divine Being, and of the admirable tendency of the Christian revelation, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life, while God continued him out of hell, in as rational and as useful a manner as he could ; and to continue casting himself at the feet of divine mercy, every day, and often in a day, *if peradventure there might be hope* of pardon, of which all that he could say was, that he *did not absolutely despair*. He had at that time

such a sense of the degeneracy of his own heart, that he hardly durst form any determinate resolution against sin, or pretend to engage himself by any vow in the presence of God; but he was continually crying to him, that he would deliver him from the bondage of corruption. He perceived in himself a most surprizing alteration with regard to the dispositions of his heart; so that, though he felt little of the delight of religious duties, he extremely desired opportunities of being engaged in them; and those *licentious pleasures*, which had before been his heaven, were now absolutely his aversion. And indeed, when I consider how habitual all those criminal indulgencies were grown to him, and that he was now in the prime of life, and all this while in high health too, I cannot but be astonished to reflect upon it, that he should be so wonderfully *sanctified in body* as well as *in soul and spirit*, as that, for all the future years of his life, he, from that hour, should find so constant a disinclination to, and abhorrence of, those criminal sensualities, to which he fancied he was before so invincibly impelled by his very constitution, that he was used strangely to think, and to say that Omnipotence itself could not reform him, without

out destroying that body, and giving him another *.

§ 38. Nor was he only delivered from that bondage of corruption, which had been habitu-

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* *Mr. Spears* expresses this wonderful circumstance in these remarkable words: "I was (said the Colonel to me,) effectually cured of all inclination to that *sin* I was so strongly addicted to, that I thought nothing but shooting me through the head could have cured me of it; and all desire and inclination to it was removed, as entirely as if I had been a sucking child; nor did the temptation return to this day." *Mr. Webster's* words on the same subject are these; "One thing I have heard the Colonel frequently say, that he was much addicted to *impurity* before his acquaintance with religion; but that, so soon as he was enlightened from above, he felt the power of the Holy Ghost changing his nature so wonderfully, that his sanctification in this respect seemed more remarkable than in any other." On which that worthy person makes his very reasonable reflection: "So thorough a change of such a polluted nature, evidenced by the most unblemished walk and conversation for a long course of years, demonstrates indeed the power of the Highest, and leaves no room to doubt of its reality." *Mr. Spears* says, this happened in three days time: but from what I can recollect, all that the Colonel could mean by that expression, if he used it, (as I concluded he did) was, that he began to make the observation in the space of three days; whereas, during that time, his thoughts were so taken up with the wonderful views presented to his mind, that he did not immediately attend to it. If he had with-

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al to him for many years, but felt in his breast so contrary a disposition, that he was grieved to see human nature, in those to whom he was most entirely a stranger, prostituted to such low and contemptible pursuits. He therefore exerted his natural courage in a very new kind of combat, and became an open *advocate for religion*, in all its principles, so far as he was acquainted with them, and all its precepts relating to *sobriety, righteousness and godliness*. Yet he was very desirous, and cautious, that he might not run into an extreme, and made it one of his first petitions to GOD, the very day after these amazing impressions had been wrought in his mind, that he might not be suffered to behave with such an affected strictness and preciseness, as would lead others about him into mistaken notions of religion, and expose it to reproach or suspicion, as if it were an unlovely or uncomfortable thing. For this reason he endeavoured to appear as chearful in conversation as he conscientiously could; though, in spite of all his precautions, some traces of that deep inward sense

in the *first three days* any temptation to seek some ease from the anguish of his mind, in returning to former sensualities, it is a circumstance he did not mention to me; and by what I can recollect of the strain of his discourse, he intimated, if he did not express, the contrary.

senſe which he had of his guilt and miſery, would at times appear. He made no ſecret of it however, that his views were entirely changed, though he concealed the particular circumſtances attending that change. He told his moſt intimate companions freely, that he had reflected on the courſe of life in which he had ſo long joined them, and found it to be folly and madneſs, unworthy a rational creature, and much more unworthy perſons calling themſelves *Chriſtians*. And he ſet up his ſtandard, upon all occaſions, againſt principles of infidelity, and practices of vice, as determinately, and as boldly, as ever he diſplayed or planted his colours, when he bore them with ſo much honour in the field.

§ 39. I cannot forbear mentioning one ſtruggle of this kind, which he deſcribed to me, with a large detail of circumſtances, the firſt day of our acquaintance. There was at that time in *Paris* a certain lady, (whoſe name, then well known in the grand and the gay world, I muſt beg leave to conceal,) who had imbibed the principles of *Deiſm*, and valued herſelf much upon being an avowed advocate for them. The *Major*, with his uſual frankneſs, (though I doubt not with that politeneſs of manners which was ſo habitual to him, and which he retained throughout his whole life,) answered her, like

a man who perfectly saw through the fallacy of her arguments, and was grieved to the heart for her delusion. On this she briskly challenged him to debate the matter at large, and to fix upon a day for that purpose, when he should dine with her, attended with any *Clergyman* he might chuse, whether of the *Protestant*, or *Catholic* communion. A sense of duty would not allow him to decline this challenge; and yet he had no sooner accepted it, but he was thrown into great perplexity and distress, lest being (as I remember he expressed it, when he told me the story.) only a *Christian of six weeks old*, he should prejudice so good a cause, by his unskilful manner of defending it. However, he sought his refuge in earnest and repeated prayers to GOD, that he who can *ordain strength*, and *perfect praise*, out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, would graciously enable him, on this occasion, to vindicate his truths in a manner which might carry conviction along with it. He then endeavoured to marshal the arguments in his own mind, as well as he could; and apprehending that he could not speak with so much freedom before a number of persons, especially before such whose province he might in that case seem to invade, if he had not devolved the principal part of the discourse upon them, he easily admitted the apology of a *Clergy-*
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man or two, to the whom he mentioned the affair, and waited on the *lady* alone upon the day appointed. But his heart was so set upon the business, that he came earlier than he was expected, and time enough to have two hours discourse before dinner ; nor did he at all decline having two young persons, nearly related to the *lady*, present during the conference.

§ 40. The *Major* opened it, with a view of such arguments for the Christian religion as he had digested in his own mind, to prove that the apostles were not mistaken themselves, and that they could not have intended to impose upon us, in the accounts they give of the grand facts they attest ; with the truth of which facts that of the Christian religion is most apparently connected. And it was a great encouragement to him, to find, that unaccustomed as he was to discourses of this nature, he had an unusual command, both of thought, and expression ; so that he recollected, and uttered every thing, as he could have wished. The *lady* heard with attention ; and though he paused between every branch of the argument, she did not interrupt the course of it, till he told her he had finished his design, and waited for her reply. She then produced some of her objections, which he took and canvassed in such a manner, that at length

she burst out into tears, allowed the force of his arguments and replies, and appeared, for some time after, so deeply impressed with the conversation, that it was observed by several of her friends: And there is reason to believe, that the impression continued, at least so far as to prevent her from ever appearing under the character of an unbeliever or a sceptic.

§ 41. This is only one specimen among many, of the battles he was almost daily called out to fight in the cause of religion and virtue; with relation to which I find him expressing himself thus, in a *letter to Mrs Gardiner*, his good mother, dated from *Paris*, the 25th of *January* following, that is 1719-20, in answer to one, in which she had warned him to expect such trials: "I have (says he,) already met with
 " them, and am obliged to fight, and to dispute
 " every inch of ground: But all thanks and
 " praise to the great *Captain of my salvation*;
 " He fights for me; and then it is no wonder,
 " that I come off *more than conqueror*:" by which last expression I suppose he meant to insinuate, that he was strengthened and established, rather than over-borne by this opposition. Yet it was not *immediately*, that he gained such fortitude. He has often told me how much he felt in those days, of the *emphasis* of those well-chosen words of the apostle, in which he ranks
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the trial of cruel mockings, with scourgings, and bonds, and imprisonments. The continual raileries with which he was received, in almost all companies where he had been most familiar before, did often distress him beyond measure; so that he has several times declared, he would much rather have marched up to a battery of the enemy's cannon, than have been obliged, so continually as he was, to face such artillery as this. But, like a brave soldier in the first action wherein he is engaged, he continued resolute; though shuddering at the terror of the assault; and quickly overcame those impressions, which it is not perhaps in nature wholly to avoid: And therefore I find him in the letter referred to above, which was written about half a year after his conversion, "quite ashamed to think of the uneasiness which these things once gave him." In a word, he went on, as every resolute Christian by divine grace may do, till he turned ridicule and opposition into respect and veneration.

§ 42. But this sensible triumph over these difficulties was not till his Christian experience had been abundantly advanced, by the blessing of God on the *sermons* he heard, (particularly in the *Swiss Chapel*;) and on the many hours which he spent in *devout retirement*, pouring out his whole soul before God in prayer. He began, within about two months after his first

memorable change, to perceive some secret dawnings of more chearful *hope*, that vile as he saw himself to be, (and I believe no words can express how vile that was,) he might nevertheless *obtain mercy* through a Redeemer. And at length, (if I remember right, about the end of *October, 1719,*) he found all the burthen of his mind taken off at once, by the powerful impression of that memorable scripture upon his mind, “Rom. iii. 25, 26. Whom GOD hath
 “set forth for a propitiation, through faith in
 “his blood, to declare his righteousness in the
 “remission of sins,——that he might be just,
 “and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus.”
 He had used to imagine, that the justice of GOD required the damnation of so enormous a sinner, as he saw himself to be : But now he was made deeply sensible, that the divine justice might be, not only vindicated, but glorified, in saving him *by the blood of Jesus*, even that *blood*, which *cleanseth us from all sin*. Then did he see, and feel, the riches of redeeming love and grace, in such a manner, as not only engaged him, with the utmost pleasure and confidence to venture his soul upon it; but even swallowed up (as it were) his whole heart in the returns of love, which from that blessed time became the genuine and delightful principle of his obedience, and animated him *with an enlarged heart, to*

run the way of GOD's commandments. Thus GOD was pleased, (as he himself used to speak,) in an hour *to turn his captivity.* All the terrors of his former state were changed into *unutterable joy*, which kept him almost continually waking for three nights together, and yet refreshed him as the noblest of cordials. His expressions, though naturally very strong, always seemed to be swallowed up, when he would describe the series of thought through which he now passed, under the rapturous experience of that *joy unspeakable, and full of glory*, which then seemed to overflow his very soul; as indeed there was nothing he seemed to speak of with greater relish. And though the first ecstasies of it afterwards subsided into a more calm and composed delight, yet were the impressions so deep and so permanent, that he assured me, on the word of a Christian and a friend, wonderful as it might seem, that for about seven years after this he enjoyed almost an *heaven upon earth.* His soul was so continually filled with a sense of the love of GOD in CHRIST, that it knew little interruption, but when necessary converse, and the duties of his station, called off his thoughts for a little time: And when they did so, as soon as he was alone, the torrent returned into its natural channel again; so that, from the minute of his awaken-
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ing in the morning, his heart was rising to God and triumphing in him; and these thoughts attended him through all the scenes of life, till he lay down on his bed again, and a short *parenthesis of sleep* (for it was but a *very short one* that he allowed himself,) invigorated his animal powers, for renewing them with greater intenseness and sensibility.

§ 3. I shall have an opportunity of illustrating this in the most convincing manner below, by extracts from several *letters* which he wrote to intimate friends during this happy period of time: *Letters*, which breathe a spirit of such sublime and fervent piety, as I have seldom met with any where else. In these circumstances, it is no wonder, that he was greatly delighted with *Dr. Watts's* imitation of the 126th *psalm*; since it may be questioned, whether there ever was a person, to whom the following *stanzas* of it were more suitable.

I.

When God reveal'd his gracious name,
And chang'd my mournful state,
My rapture seem'd a pleasing dream;
Thy grace appear'd so great.

II.

The world beheld the glorious change;
And did thine hand confess;

My

My tongue broke out in unknown strains,
And sung surprizing grace.

III.

"Great is the work," my neighbours cry'd,
And own'd the pow'r divine:
"Great is the work," my heart reply'd,
"And be the glory thine."

IV.

The Lord can change the darkest skies,
Can give us day for night,
Make floods of sacred sorrow rise
To rivers of delight.

V.

Let those that sow in sadness, wait
Till the fair harvest come:
They shall confess their sheaves are great,
And shout the blessings home.

§ 44. I have been so happy as to get the sight of five original *letters*, which he wrote to his *mother* about this time; which do in a very lively manner illustrate the surprizing change made in the whole current of his thoughts, and temper of his mind. Many of them were written in the most hasty manner, just as the courier who brought them was, perhaps unexpectedly, setting out; and they relate chiefly to affairs, in which the public is not at all concerned: Yet there is not one of them, in which he has not inserted
some

some warm and genuine sentiment of religion. And indeed it is very remarkable, that though he was pleased to honour me with a great many *letters*, and I have seen several more which he wrote to others, some of them on journies, where he could have but a few minutes at command, yet I cannot recollect, that I ever saw any one, in which there was not some trace of piety. And the reverend *Mr Webster*, who was employed to review great numbers of them, that he might select such extracts as he should think proper to communicate to me, has made the same observation *.

§ 45. The *major*, with great justice, tells the good lady *his mother*, “ that when she saw him again, she would find the person indeed the same, but every thing else entirely changed.” And she might easily have perceived it of herself, by the whole tenour of *those letters*, which
every

* His words are these: “ I have read over a vast number of the *Colonel's letters*, and have not found any one of them, however short, and written in the most passing manner, even when posting, but what is expressive of the most passionate breathings towards his God and Saviour. If the letter consists but of two sentences, *religion is not forgot*, which doubtless deserves to be carefully remarked, as the most uncontested evidence of a pious mind, ever under the warmest impressions of divine things.”

every where breathe the unaffected spirit of a true Christian. They are taken up, sometimes with giving advice and directions concerning some pious and charitable contributions; (one of which I remember amounted to ten guineas, though, as he was then out of commission, and had not formerly been very frugal, it cannot be supposed he had much to spare;) sometimes in speaking of the pleasure with which he attended *sermons*, and expected *sacramental* opportunities; and at other times exhorting her, established as she was in religion, to labour after a yet more exemplary character and conduct, or in recommending her to the divine presence and blessing, as well as himself to her prayers. What satisfaction such *letters* as these must give to a lady of her distinguished piety, who had so long wept over this dear and amiable son, as quite lost to God, and on the verge of final destruction, it is not for me to describe, or indeed to conceive. But hastily as these *letters* were written, only for private view, I will give a few specimens from them in his own words; which will serve to illustrate, as well as confirm, what I have hinted above.

§ 46. 'I must take the liberty,' says he, in a *letter* dated on the *first day* of the *new year*, or according to the old style, *Dec. 21, 1719*, 'to intreat you, that you would receive no company

' pany on the *Lord's day*. I know you have a
 ' great many good acquaintance, with whose dis-
 ' courses one might be very well edified: But as
 ' you cannot keep out, and let in, whom you
 ' please, the best way, in my humble opinion,
 ' will be to see none.' In another, of *Jan. 25*,
 ' I am happier than any one can imagine, except
 ' I could put him exactly in the same situation
 ' with myself; which is what *the world cannot*
 ' give, and no man ever attained it, unless it
 ' were *from above*.' In another, dated *March*
30, which was just before a *sacrament day*,
 ' To-morrow, if it please God, I shall be happy;
 ' my soul being fed with *the bread of life*, which
 ' came down from heaven. I shall be mindful
 ' of you all there.' In another of *Jan. 29*, he
 thus expresses that indifference for worldly pos-
 sessions, which he so remarkably carried through
 all the remainder of his life; ' I know, the
 ' rich are only stewards for the poor, and must
 ' give an account of every penny; therefore
 ' the less I have, the more easy will it be to
 ' render a faithful account of it.' And to add
 no more from *these letters* at present, in the
 conclusion of one of them he has these compre-
 hensive and solemn words: ' Now that He, who
 ' is the ease of the afflicted, the support of the
 ' weak, the wealth of the poor, the teacher of
 ' the ignorant, the anchor of the tearful, and the
 ' infinite

' infinite reward of all faithful souls, may pour
' out upon you all his richest blessings, shall al-
' ways be the prayer of him who is entirely yours,
' &c'

§ 47. To this account of his correspondence with his excellent *mother*, I should be glad to add a large view of another, to which she introduced him, with that reverend and valuable person, under whose pastoral care she was placed, I mean the justly celebrated *Doctor Edmund Calamy*, to whom she could not but early communicate the joyful news of her son's conversion. I am not so happy as to be possessed of the *letters* which passed between them, which I have reason to believe would make a curious and valuable collection: But I have had the pleasure of receiving, from my worthy and amiable friend, the reverend Mr *Edmund Calamy*, one of the letters which the *Doctor* his father wrote to the *Major* on this wonderful occasion. I perceive by the contents of it, that it was *the first*; and indeed it is dated as early as the *third* of *August*, 1719, which must be but a few days after his own account, dated *August 4*, *N. S.* could reach *England*. There is so much true religion and good sense in this paper, and the counsel it suggests may be so seasonable to other persons in circumstances which bear any resemblance to his, that I make no apology

to my reader for inserting a large extract from it.

§ 48. ' Dear Sir,——I conceive it will
 ' not much surprise you to understand that your
 ' good *mother* communicated to me *your letter*
 ' to her, dated *Aug. 4, N. S.* which brought
 ' her the news you conceive would be so accept-
 ' able to her. I who have often been a witness
 ' to her concern for you on a spiritual account,
 ' can attest with what joy this news was receiv-
 ' ed by her, and imparted to me as a special
 ' friend, who she knew would bear a part with
 ' her on such an occasion. And indeed, if (as
 ' our Saviour intimates, *Luke xv. 7, 10.* *there is*
 ' in such cases *joy in heaven and among the*
 ' *angels of GOD,* it may well be supposed, that
 ' of a pious *mother*, who has spent so many
 ' prayers and tears upon you, and has as it were
 ' *travailed in birth with you again, till Christ was*
 ' *formed in you,* could not be small. You may
 ' believe me if I add, that I also, as a common
 ' friend of her's and your's, and, which is much
 ' more, of the Prince of light, whom you now
 ' declare you heartily fall in with in opposition
 ' to that of the dark kingdom, could not but be
 ' tenderly affected with an account of it under
 ' your own hand. My joy on this account was
 ' the greater, considering the importance of your
 ' capacity, interests, and prospects; which in

' such

' such an age as this, may promise most happy
 ' consequences, on your heartily appearing on
 ' God's side, and embarking in the interest of
 ' our dear Redeemer. If I have hitherto at all
 ' remembered you *at the throne of grace*, at your
 ' good *mother's* desire, (which you are pleased
 ' to take notice of with so much respect,) I can
 ' assure you I shall henceforward be led to do it
 ' with more concern and particularity, both by
 ' duty and inclination. And if I were capable
 ' of giving you any little assistance in the noble
 ' design you are engaging in, by *corresponding*
 ' *with you by letter*, while you are at such a dis-
 ' tance, I should do it most chearfully. And,
 ' perhaps, such a motion may not be altogether
 ' unacceptable: For I am inclinable to believe,
 ' that when some, whom you are obliged to con-
 ' verse with, observe your behaviour so different
 ' from what it formerly was, and banter you
 ' upon it as mad and fanciful, it may be some
 ' little relief to correspond with one, who will
 ' take a pleasure in heartening and encouraging
 ' you. And when a great many things frequent-
 ' ly offer, in which *conscience* may be concern-
 ' ed where duty may not always be plain, nor
 ' suitable persons to advise with at hand, it may
 ' be some satisfaction to you to correspond with
 ' one, with whom you may use a friendly free-
 ' dom in all such matters, and on whose fidelity
 ' you

‘ you may depend. You may therefore com-
‘ mand me in any of these respects, and I shall
‘ take a pleasure in serving you.—One piece of
‘ advice I shall venture to give you, though your
‘ own good sense will make my enlarging upon
‘ it less needful; I mean, that you would from
‘ your first setting out carefully distinguish be-
‘ tween the *essentials* of real religion, and those
‘ things which are commonly reckoned by its
‘ professors to belong to it. The want of this
‘ distinction has had very unhappy consequences
‘ from one age to another, and perhaps in none
‘ more than the present. But your daily con-
‘ verse with your *Bible*, which you mention,
‘ may herein give you great assistance. I move
‘ also, that since *infidelity* so much abounds, you
‘ would, not only by close and serious considera-
‘ tion, endeavour to settle yourself well in the
‘ fundamental principles of religion; but also
‘ that, as opportunity offers, you would con-
‘ verse with those *books* which treat most judi-
‘ ciously on the divine original of Christianity,
‘ such as *Grotius, Abadie, Baxter, Bates, Du*
‘ *Plessis, &c.* which may establish you against
‘ the cavils that occur in almost all conversations,
‘ and furnish you with arguments which, when
‘ properly offered, may be of use to make some
‘ impressions on others. But being too much
‘ straitned to enlarge at present, I can only add,
‘ that

‘ that if your hearty falling in with serious re-
 ‘ ligious should prove any hindrance to your ad-
 ‘ vancement in the world, (which I pray God
 ‘ it may not, unless such advancement would
 ‘ be a real snare to you,) I hope you will trust
 ‘ our Saviour’s word, that it shall be no disad-
 ‘ vantage to you in the final issue: He has
 ‘ given you his word for it, *Mat. xix. 29.*
 ‘ upon which you may safely depend; and I am
 ‘ satisfied, none, that ever did so, at last re-
 ‘ pented of it. May you go on and prosper,
 ‘ and the God of all grace and peace be with
 ‘ you!’

§ 49. I think it very evident from the con-
 tents of *this letter*, that the *Major* had not im-
 parted to his *mother* the most singular circum-
 stances attending his conversion: And, indeed,
 there was something so peculiar in them, that
 I do not wonder he was always cautious in
 speaking of them, and, especially, that he was
 first much on the reserve. We may also natural-
 ly reflect, that there seems to have been some-
 thing very providential in *this letter*, consider-
 ing the debate in which our illustrious convert
 was so soon engaged; for it was written but a-
 bout three weeks before his conference with the
lady above-mentioned, in the defence of Chris-
 tianity; or, at least, before the appointment of
 it. And as some of the *books* recommended by
 Dr.

Dr. Calamy, particularly *Abadie* and *Du Plessis*, were undoubtedly within his reach, (if our *English* Advocates were not,) this might, by the divine blessing, contribute considerably towards arming him for that combat, in which he came off with such happy success. And as in this instance so in many others, they who will observe the co-incidence and concurrence of things, may be engaged to adore the wise conduct of Providence in events, which, when taken singly and by themselves, have nothing very remarkable in them.

§ 50. I think it was about this time, that this resolute and exemplary Christian entered upon that methodical *manner of living*, which he pursued through so many succeeding years of life, and I believe, generally, so far as the broken state of his health would allow it in his latter days, to the very end of it. He used constantly to rise at *four* in the morning, and to spend his time till *six* in the secret exercise of devotion, reading, meditation, and prayer; in which last he contracted such a fervency of spirit, as I believe few men living ever obtained. This certainly tended very much to strengthen that firm faith in God, and reverent animating sense of his presence, for which he was so eminently remarkable, and which carried him through the trials and services of life, with such steadiness, and

and with such activity; for he indeed *endured*, and acted as always *seeing Him who is invisible*. If at any time he was obliged to go out before *six* in the morning, he rose proportionably sooner; so that when a journey, or a march, was required him to be on horseback by *four*, he would be at his devotions at farthest by *two*. He likewise secured time for retirement in an evening; and that he might have it the more at command, and be the more fit to use it properly, as well as the better able to rise early the next morning, he generally went to bed about *ten*: And, during the time I was acquainted with him, he seldom eat any supper, but a mouthful of bread with one glass of wine. In consequence of this, as well as of his admirable good constitution, and the long habit he had formed, he required *less sleep* than most persons I have known: And I doubt not but his uncommon progress in piety was in a great measure owing to these resolute habits of self-denial.

§ 51. A life any thing like this, could not, to be sure, be entered upon, in the midst of such company as he had been accustomed to keep, without great opposition: Especially, as he did not entirely withdraw himself from cheerful conversation; but, on the contrary, gave several hours every day to it, lest religion should

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be

be reproached, as having made him morose. He, however, early began a practice, which to the last day of his life he retained, of *reproving vice and prophaneness*; and was never afraid to debate the matter with any, under the consciouſness of ſuch ſuperiority in the goodneſs of his cauſe.

§ 52. A remarkable inſtance of this happened, if I miſtake not, about the middle of the year 1720, though I cannot be very exact as to the date of the ſtory. It was however on his firſt return, to make any conſiderable abode in *England*, after this remarkable change. He had heard, on the other ſide of the water, that it was currently reported among his companions at home, that he was *ſtark mad*: A report, at which no reader, who knows *the wiſdom of the world* in theſe matters, will be much ſurpriſed, any more than himſelf. He concluded therefore, that he ſhould have many battles to fight, and was willing to diſpatch the buſineſs as faſt as he could. And therefore, being to ſpend a few days at the country houſe of a perſon of diſtinguiſhed rank, with whom he had been very intimate, (whoſe name I do not remember that he told me, nor did I think it proper to inquire after it,) he begged the favour of him that he would contrive matters ſo, that a day or two after he came down, ſeveral of their former gay
com-

companions might meet at his *Lordship's* table ; that he might have an opportunity of making his apology to them, and acquainting them with the nature and reasons of his change. It was accordingly agreed to ; and a pretty large company met on the day appointed, with previous notice that *Major Gardiner* would be there. A good deal of raillery passed at dinner, to which the *Major* made very little answer. But when the cloth was taken away, and the servants retired, he begged their patience for a few minutes, and then plainly and seriously told them, what notions he entertained of virtue and religion, and on what considerations he had absolutely determined, that by the grace of God he would make it the care and business of life, whatever he might lose by it, and whatever censure and contempt he might incur. He well knew how improper it was in such company to relate the extraordinary manner in which he was awakened ; which they would probably have interpreted to a demonstration of *lunacy* against all the gravity and solidity of his discourse : But he contented himself with such a rational defence of a *righteous, sober, and godly life*, as he knew none of them could with any shadow of reason contest. He then challenged them to propose any thing they could urge, to prove that a life of irreligion and debauchery was pre-

ferable to the fear, love, and worship of the eternal God, and a conduct agreeable to the precepts of his gospel. And he failed not to bear his testimony from his own experience, (to one part of which many of them had been witnesses,) that after having run the widest round of sensual pleasure, with all the advantages the best constitution and spirits could give him, he had never tasted any thing that deserved to be called *happiness*, till he had made *religion* his refuge and his delight. He testified calmly and boldly, the habitual serenity and peace that he now felt in his own breast, for the most elevated delights he did not think fit to plead, lest they should be esteemed *enthusiasm*,) and the composure and pleasure with which he looked forward to objects, which the gayest sinner must acknowledge to be equally unavoidable and dreadful.

§ 53. I know not what might be attempted by some of the company in answer to this; but I well remember he told me, the master of the table, a person of a very frank and candid disposition, cut short the debate, and said, "Come, let us call another cause: we thought this man *mad*, and he is in good earnest proving that we are so." On the whole, this well-judged circumstance saved him a great deal of future trouble. When his former acquaintance ob-

served,

served, that he was still conversable and innocently chearful, and that he was immoveable in his resolutions, they desisted from farther importunity. And he has assured me, that instead of losing any one valuable friend by this change in his character, he found himself much more esteemed and regarded by many who could not persuade themselves to imitate his example.

§ 54. I have not any memoirs of *Colonel Gardiner's* life, or of any other remarkable event befalling him in it, from the time of his return to *England*, till his marriage in the year 1726; except the extracts which have been sent me from some *letters*, which he wrote to his religious friends during this interval, and which I cannot pass by without a more particular notice. It may be recollected, that in consequence of the reduction of that regiment of which he was *Major*, he was out of commission from *Nov. the 10th, 1718*, till *June the 1st, 1724*: and after he returned from *Paris*, I find all his *letters*, during this period, dated from *London*, where he continued, in communion with the Christian society under the pastoral care of *Doctor Calamy*. As his good *mother* also belonged to the same, it is easy to imagine, it must be an unspeakable pleasure to her, to have such frequent opportunities of conversing

with such a son, of observing in his daily conduct and discourses the blessed effects of that change which divine grace had made in his heart, and of sitting down with him monthly at that *sacred feast*, where Christians so frequently enjoy the divinest entertainments which they expect on this side heaven. I the rather mention *this ordinance*, because as this excellent lady had a very high esteem for it, so she had an opportunity of attending, but the very *Lord's day* immediately preceding her death, which happened on *Thursday Oct. 7th, 1725*, after her son had been removed from her almost a year. He had maintained her handsomely out of that very moderate income, on which he subsisted since his regiment had been disbanded; and when she expressed her gratitude to him for it, he assured her, (I think, in one of the last *letters* she ever received from him,) that he esteemed it a great honour, that God put into his power, to make, what he called, "*a very small acknowledgment* of all her care for him, and "*especially of the many prayers she had offered* "*on his account, which had already been remarkably answered, and the benefit of which* "*he hoped ever to enjoy.*"

§ 55. I apprehend that the *Earl of Stair's* regiment, to the *majority* of which he was promoted on the 20th of *July, 1724*, was then quartered

quartered in *Scotland*; for all the *letters* in my hand, from that time to the 6th of *February*, 1726, are dated from thence, and particularly from *Douglas, Stranrawen, Hamilton, and Air*: but I have the pleasure to find, from comparing these with others of an earlier date from *London* and the neighbouring parts, that neither the detriment which he must suffer by being so long out of commission, nor the hurry of affairs while charged with it, could prevent or interrupt that *intercourse with heaven*, which was his daily feast, and his daily strength.

§ 56. These were most eminently *the happy years of his life*: for he had learned to estimate his happiness, not by the increase of honour, or the possession of wealth, or by what was much dearer to his generous heart than either, the converse of the dearest and worthiest of human friends; but by nearness to *God*, and by opportunities of humble converse with him, in the lively exercise of contemplation, praise, and prayer. Now there was no period of his life, in which he was more eminently favoured with these; nor do I find any of his *letters* so overflowing with transports of holy joy, as those which were dated during this time. There are indeed in some of them such very sublime passages, that I have been dubious whether I should

communicate them to the public or not; lest I should administer matter of prophane ridicule to some, who look upon all the elevations of devotion as contemptible *enthusiasm*. And it has also given me some apprehensions, lest it should discourage some pious Christians, who after having spent several years in the service of God, and in humble obedience to the precepts of his gospel, may not have attained to any such heights as these. But on the whole, I cannot satisfy myself to suppress them; not only as I number some of them, considered in a devotional view, among the most extraordinary pieces of the kind I have ever met with; but as some of the most excellent and judicious persons I any where know, to whom I have read them, have assured me, that they felt their hearts in an unusual manner impressed, quickened, and edified by them.

§ 57. I will therefore draw back the veil, and shew my much honoured friend in his most secret recesses; that the world may see what those springs were, from whence issued that clear, permanent, and living stream of wisdom, piety, and virtue, which so apparently ran through all that part of his life which was open to public observation. It is not to be imagined, that *letters* written in the intimacy of Christian friendship, some of them with the most apparent

rent marks of haste, and amidst a variety of important public cares, should be adorned with any studied elegance of expression, about which the greatness of his soul would not allow him to be at any time very solicitous; for he generally (so far as I could observe,) wrote as fast as his pen could move, which happily, both for him, and his many friends, was very freely. Yet here the grandeur of his subject has sometimes clothed his ideas with a language more elevated, than is ordinarily to be expected in an epistolary correspondence. The *proud scorers*, who may deride sentiments and enjoyments like those which this truly great man so experimentally and pathetically describes, I pity from my heart; and grieve to think how unfit they must be for the *Hallelujahs* of heaven, who pour contempt upon the nearest approaches to them: nor shall I think it any misfortune to share with so excellent a person in their *prophane diversion*. It will be infinitely more than an equivalent for all that such ignorance and petulancy can think and say, if I may convince some who are as yet strangers to religion, how real, and how noble, its delights are; if I may engage my pious readers, to glorify God for so illustrious an instance of his grace; and finally, if I may quicken them, and above all may rouse my own too indulgent spirit, to fol-

low with less unequal steps an example, to the sublimity of which, I fear, few of us shall after all be able fully to attain. And that we may not be too much discouraged under the deficiency, let it be recollected, that few have the advantage of a temper naturally so warm: few have an equal command of retirement; and perhaps hardly any one, who thinks himself most indebted to the riches and freedom of divine grace, can trace interpositions of it, in all respects equally astonishing.

§ 58. The first of these extraordinary *letters* which have fallen into my hand, is dated near three years after his conversion, and addressed to a *lady of quality*. I believe it is the first the *Major* ever wrote, so immediately on the subject of his religious consolations and converse with God in devout retirement. For I well remember, that he once told me, he was so much afraid that something of *spiritual pride* should mingle itself with the relation of such kind of *experiences*, that he concealed them a long time: but observing with how much freedom the *sacred writers* open all the most secret recesses of their hearts, especially in the *Psalms*, his conscience began to be burthened, under an apprehension, that, for the honour of God, and in order to engage the concurrent praises of some of his people, he ought to disclose them.

On

On this he set himself to reflect, who among all his numerous acquaintance seemed at once *the most experienced Christian* he knew, (to whom therefore such things as he had to communicate might appear solid and credible) and who *the humblest*. He quickly thought of the *Lady Marchioness of Douglas* in this view; and the reader may well imagine, that it struck my mind very strongly, to think that now, more than twenty-four years after it was written, Providence should bring to my hands, (as it has done within these few days,) what I assuredly believe to be a genuine copy of *that very letter*; which I had not the least reason to expect I should ever have seen, when I learnt from his own mouth, amidst the freedom of an accidental conversation, the occasion and circumstances of it.

§ 59. It is dated from *London, July 21, 1722*, and the very first lines of it relate to a remarkable circumstance, which from others of his *letters* I find have happened several times. I mean, that when he had received from any of his Christian friends a few lines which particularly affected his heart, he could not stay till the stated return of his devotional hour, but immediately retired to pray for them, and to give vent to these religious emotions of mind which such a correspondence raised. How

invaluable was such a friend! and how great reason have those of us, who once possessed a large share in his heart, and in those retired and sacred moments, to bless GOD for so singular a felicity; and to comfort ourselves in a pleasing hope, that we may yet reap future blessings, as the harvest of those petitions which he can no more repeat!

§ 60. His words are these: 'I was so happy as to receive yours just as I arrived, and I had sooner read it, but I shut my door, and sought him whom my soul loveth. I sought him, and found him; and would not let him go till he had blessed us all. It is impossible to find words, to express what I obtained; but I suppose it was something like that which the *disciples* got, as they were going to *Emmaus*, when they said, *Did not our hearts burn within us, &c.* or rather like what *Paul* felt, when he could not tell whether he was in the body or out of it.' He then mentions his dread of *spiritual pride*, from which he earnestly prays that GOD may deliver and preserve him. 'This,' says he, 'would have hindered me from communicating these things, if I had not such an example before me as the man after GOD's own heart, saying, *I will declare what GOD hath done for my soul;* and elsewhere, *The humble shall hear thereof, and be glad:* Now I am well satisfied, that
your

' your Ladyship is of that number.' He then adds,
 ' I had no sooner finished this exercise,' that is,
 of *prayer* above-mentioned, ' but I sat down to
 ' admire the goodness of my God, that he
 ' would vouchsafe to influence by *his free Spi-*
 ' *rit* so undeserving a wretch as I, and to make
 ' me thus to *mount up with eagles wings*. And
 ' here I was lost again, and got into an ocean,
 ' where I could find neither bound nor bottom ;
 ' but was obliged to cry out with the apostle, *O*
 ' *the breadth, the length, the depth, the height,*
 ' *of the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge !*
 ' But if I give way to this strain, I shall never
 ' have done. That *the GOD of hope may fill you*
 ' *with all joy and peace in believing*, that you may
 ' *abound in hope through the power of the Holy*
 ' *Ghost*, shall always be the prayer of him, who
 ' is, with the greatest sincerity and respect,
 ' your Ladyship's, &c.'

§ 61. Another passage to the same purpose
 I find in a *memorandum*, which he seems to have
 written for his own use, dated *Monday, March*
11, which, I perceive, from many concurrent
 circumstances, must have been in the year 1722-3.
 ' This day,' says he, ' having been to
 ' visit Mrs G. at *Hampstead*, I came home a-
 ' bout two, and read a *sermon* on these words,
 ' *Psal. cxxx. 4. But there is forgiveness with*
 ' *thee, that thou mayest be feared*: About the
 ' latter

' latter end of which, there is a description of
 ' the miserable condition of those that are slight-
 ' ers of pardoning grace. From a sense of the
 ' great obligations I lay under to the Almighty
 ' GOD, who hath *made me to differ* from such,
 ' from what I was, and from the rest of my
 ' companions, I knelt down to praise his holy
 ' name: And I know not, that in my life-time
 ' I ever lay *lower in the dust*, never having had a
 ' fuller view of my own unworthiness. I never
 ' pleaded more strongly the merits and intercession
 ' of him, who I know is worthy; never vowed
 ' more sincerely to be the Lord's, and to
 ' accept of CHRIST as he is offered in the gos-
 ' pel, as my king, priest, and prophet; never
 ' had so strong *a desire to depart*, that I might
 ' sin no more; but——*my grace is sufficient*
 ' ——curbed that desire. I never pleaded
 ' with greater fervency for *the Comforter*, which,
 ' our blessed Lord hath promised, *shall abide with*
 ' *us for ever*. For all which, I desire to ascribe
 ' glory, &c. to Him that sitteth on the throne,
 ' and to the Lamb.'

§ 62. There are several others of his *papers*,
 which speak much the same language; which,
 had he kept *a diary*, would (I doubt not) have
 filled many sheets. I believe, my devout read-
 ers would not soon be weary of reading *extracts*
of this kind: But that I may not exceed in this

part

part of my narrative, I shall mention only two more, each of them dated some years after; that is, one from *Douglas*, April 1, 172; and the other from *Stranrawen*, the 25th of May following.

§ 63. The former of these relates to the frame of his spirit *on a journey*. On the mention of which I cannot but recollect, how often I have heard him say, that some of the most delightful days of his life were days in which he *travelled alone*, (that is, with only a servant at a distance;) when he could, especially in roads not much frequented, indulge himself in the pleasures of *prayer* and *praise*. In the exercise of which last, he was greatly assisted by several *Psalms* and *Hymns*, which he had treasured up in his memory, and which he used not only to *repeat aloud*, but sometimes to *sing*. In reference to this I remember the following passage, in a *letter* which he wrote to me many years after, when on mentioning my ever dear and honoured friend the Rev. *Dr Watts*, he says, How often in singing some of his *Psalms*, *Hymns*, or *Lyrics*, on horseback, and elsewhere, has the evil spirit been made to flee;

‘ Whene’er my heart in tune was found,

‘ Like *David’s* harp of solemn sound !’

§ 64. Such was the *first* of *April* above mentioned, in the evening of which he writes thus to an intimate friend: 'What would I have given this day, upon the road, for paper, pen, and ink, when *the Spirit of the Most High rested upon me!* Oh for the pen of a ready writer, and the tongue of an angel, to declare what *God hath done this day for my soul!* But in short, it is in vain to attempt it: All that I am able to say, is only this, that my soul has been for some hours joining with the blessed spirits above, in giving *glory, and honour, and praise, unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever.* My praises began from a renewed view of him, *whom I saw pierced for my transgressions.* I summoned the whole hierarchy of heaven to join with me; and I am persuaded, they all echoed back praise to the Most High. Yea, one would have thought, the very larks joined with me with emulation. Sure then I need not make use of many words, to persuade you that are *his saints*, to join me in blessing and praising his holy name.' He concludes, 'May the blessing of the God of *Jacob* rest upon you all! *Adieu.* Written in great haste, late, and weary.'

§ 65. Scarce can I here refrain from breaking out into more copious reflections on the exquisite

quifite pleasures of true religion, when rifen to fuch eminent degrees; which can thus feaft the foul in its folitude, and refrefh it on journies; and bring down fo much of *heaven* to earth, as this delightful *letter* expreffes. But the remark is fo obvious, that I will not enlarge upon it; but proceed to the *other letter* above-mentioned, which was written the next month, on the *Tuefday* after a *sacrament-day*.

§ 66. He mentions the pleasure with which he had attended a *preparation sermon* the *Saturday* before; and then he adds, 'I took a walk upon the *mountains* that are over againft *Ireland*; and I perfwade myfelf, that were I capable of giving you a description of what paffed there, you would agree, that I had much better reason to *remember my God* from the hills of *Port-Patrick*, than *David* from the *land of Jordan*, and of the *Hermonites*, from the hill *Mizar*.' I fuppofe he means in reference to the clearer discoveries of the *gospel* with which we are favoured. 'In fhort,' fays he immediately afterwards, in that fcripture-phrafe which was become fo familiar to him, 'I *wreffled* fome hours with the *Angel of the covenant*, and made *fupplications* to him with floods of tears, and cries,——until I had almoft expired. But he ftrengthened me fo, that like *Jacob* I had power with *GOD*, and prevailed. This,'
adds

' adds he, is but a very faint description : You
 ' will be more able to judge of it by what you
 ' have felt yourself upon the like occasions.
 ' After such preparatory work, I need not tell
 ' you, how blessed the ordinance of the *Lord's*
 ' *supper* proved to me ; I hope, it was so to ma-
 ' ny. You well may believe, I should have
 ' been exceeding glad, if my gracious Lord had
 ' ordered it so, that I might have made you a
 ' visit, as I proposed : But I am now glad it
 ' was ordered otherwise, since he hath caused so
 ' *much of his goodness to pass before me.* Were I
 ' to give you an account of the many favours
 ' my God hath loaded me with since I parted
 ' from you, I must have taken up many days in
 ' nothing but writing. I hope you will join
 ' with me in praises for all the goodness he has
 ' shewn to your unworthy brother in the Lord.'

§ 67. Such were the ardours and elevations
 of his soul: But while I record these memorials
 of them, I am very sensible, there are many who
 will be inclined to censure them, as the *flights*
of enthusiasm; for which reason I must beg leave
 to add a remark or two on the occasion, which
 will be illustrated by several *other extracts*, which
 I shall introduce into the sequel of these memoirs.
 The one is, that he never pretends, in any of
 the passages cited above, or elsewhere, to have
 received any *immediate revelations* from God,
 which

which should raise him above the ordinary methods of instruction, or discover any thing to him, whether of doctrines or facts. No man was farther from pretending to *predict future events*, except it were from the moral prognostications of causes naturally tending to produce them; in tracing of which he had indeed an admirable sagacity, as I have seen in some very remarkable instances. Neither was he at all inclinable to govern himself by *secret impulses* upon his mind, leading him to things for which he could assign no reason but the impulse itself. Had he ventured, in a presumption on such secret agitations of mind, to teach, or to do any thing, not warranted by the dictates of sound sense and the word of GOD, I should readily have acknowledged him an *enthusiast*; unless he could have produced some other evidence than his own persuasion, to have supported the authority of them. But these ardent expressions, which some may call *enthusiasm*, seem only to evidence a heart deeply affected with a sense of the divine presence and perfections, and of that *love which passeth knowledge*; especially, as manifested in our redemption by the Son of GOD, which did indeed inflame his whole soul. And he thought, he might reasonably ascribe the *strong impressions*, to which men are generally such strangers, and of which he had long been entirely destitute, to the agency

agency or influence of the *Spirit of GOD* upon his heart; and that in proportion to the degree in which he felt them, he might properly say, *GOD* was present with him, and he conversed with *GOD* *. Now when we consider the scriptural phrases, of *walking with GOD*, of *having communion with the Father and his Son Jesus Christ*, of *Christ's coming to them that open the door of their hearts to him, and supping with them*, of *GOD's shedding abroad his love in the heart by his*

* The ingenious and pious *Mr Grove*, (who I think was as little suspected of running into *enthusiastical extremes* as most divines I could name,) has a noble passage to this purpose, in the *sixth volume* of his *Posthumous works*, pag. 40, 41. which respect to the memory of both these excellent persons inclines me to insert here. "How often are good thoughts suggested," (*viz.* to the pure in heart,) "heavenly affections kindled, and inflamed! How often is the Christian prompted to holy actions, drawn to his duty, restored, quickened, perswaded, in such a manner, that he would be unjust to the *Spirit of GOD* to question his agency in the whole! Yes, oh my soul, there is a supreme Being, who governs the world, and is present with it, who takes up his more special habitation in good men, and is *nigh to all who call upon him*, to sanctify, and assist them! Hast thou not felt him, oh my soul, like another soul, actuating thy faculties, exalting thy faculties, exalting thy views, purifying thy passions, exciting thy graces, and begetting in thee an abhorrence of sin, and a love of holiness? And is not all this an argument of his presence, as truly as if thou *didst see him*?"

his Spirit, of his coming with Jesus Christ and making his abode with any man that loves him, of his melting him that worketh righteousness, of his making us glad by the light of his countenance, and a variety of other equivalent expressions; I believe, we shall see reason to judge much more favourably of such expressions as those now in question, than persons who are themselves strangers to elevated devotion, and perhaps converse but little with their Bible, are inclined to do; especially if they have, as many such persons have, a temper that inclines them to cavil and find fault. And I must farther observe, that amidst all those freedoms, with which this eminent Christian opens his devout heart to the most intimate of his friends, he still speaks with profound awe and reverence of his heavenly Father, and his Saviour, and maintains (after the example of the sacred writers themselves,) a kind of dignity in his expressions, suitable to such a subject; without any of that fond familiarity of language, and degrading meanness of phrase, by which it is, especially of late, grown fashionable among some, (who nevertheless I believe mean well,) to express their love and their humility.

§ 68. On the whole; if habitual love to God, firm faith in the Lord JESUS CHRIST, a steady dependance on the divine promises, a full persuasion of the wisdom and goodness of all the dispensations

dispensations of providence, a high esteem for the blessings of the heavenly world, and a sincere contempt for the vanities of this, can properly be called *enthusiasm*; then was *Colonel Gardiner* indeed *one of the greatest enthusiasts* our age has produced; and in proportion to the degree in which he was so, I must esteem him *one of the wisest and happiest of mankind*. Nor do I fear to tell the world, that it is the design of my writing these memoirs, and of every thing else that I undertake in life, to spread *this glorious and blessed enthusiasm*; which I know to be the anticipation of Heaven, as well as the most certain way to it.

§ 69. But lest any should possibly imagine, that allowing the experiences which have been described above, to have been ever so solid and important, yet there may be some appearance of *boasting* in so free a communication of them; I must add to what I have hinted in reference to this above, that I find in many of the *papers* before me very genuine expressions of the deepest *humility* and *self-abasement*; which indeed such holy converse with God in prayer and praise, does above all things in the world tend to inspire and promote. Thus in one of his *letters* he says, 'I am but *as a beast before him*.' In another he calls himself 'a miserable hell-deserving sinner.' And in another he cries out, 'Oh, how

‘ how good a master do I serve ! but alas, how
 ‘ ungrateful am I ! What can be so astonishing,
 ‘ as the love of CHRIST to us, unless it be the
 ‘ coldness of our sinful hearts towards such a
 ‘ Saviour ?’ With many other clauses of the like
 nature, which I shall not set myself more parti-
 cularly to trace, thro’ the variety of *letters* in
 which they occur.

§ 70. It is a farther instance of this un-
 feigned *humility*, that when (as *his Lady* with
 her usual propriety of language expresses it, in
 one of her *letters* to me concerning him,) ‘ these
 ‘ divine joys and consolations were not his daily
 ‘ allowance,’ he with equal freedom, in the con-
 fidence of Christian friendship, acknowledges and
 laments it. Thus in the first *letter* I had the
 honour of receiving from him, dated from *Lei-*
cester, July 9, 1739, when he had been men-
 tioning the blessing with which it had pleased
 GOD to attend my last address to him, and the
 influence it had upon his mind, he adds, ‘ much
 ‘ do I stand in need of every help, to awaken
 ‘ me out of that *spiritual deadness*, which seizes
 ‘ me so often. Once indeed it was quite other-
 ‘ wise with me, and that for many years :

‘ Firm was my health, my day was bright,
 ‘ And I presum’d ’twould ne’er be night :

‘ Fondly

' Fondly I said within my heart,
 ' Pleasure and peace shall ne'er depart,
 ' But I forgot. Thine arm was strong,
 ' Which made my mountain stand so long:
 ' Soon as thy face began to hide,
 ' My health was gone, my comforts died.

' And here', adds he, ' lies my sin, and my
 ' folly.'

§ 71. I mention this, that the whole matter
 may be seen just as it was, and that other Chris-
 tians may not be discouraged, if they feel some
 abatement of that fervour, and of those holy joys,
 which they may have experienced during some
 of the first months or years of their spiritual life.
 But with relation to the *Colonel*, I have great rea-
 son to believe, that these which he laments as his
 days of *spiritual deadness* were not unanimated;
 and that quickly after the date of *this letter*, and
 especially nearer the close of his life, he had far-
 ther *revivings*, as the joyful anticipation of
 those *better things in reserve*, which were then
 nearly approaching. And thus *Mr Spears*, in
 the *letter* I mentioned above, tells us he related
 the matter to him; (for he studies as much as
 possible to retain the *Colonel's* own words:)
 ' However,' says he, ' after that happy period of
 ' *sensible communion*, tho' my joys and enlarge-
 ' ments were not so overflowing and sensible,
 ' yet

‘ yet I have had habitual *real communion* with
 ‘ GOD from that day to this ;’ the latter end of
 the year 74 : ‘ and I know myself, and all
 ‘ that know me see, that through the grace of
 ‘ GOD, to which I ascribe all, my *conversation*
 ‘ has been *becoming the gospel* ; and let me die
 ‘ whenever it shall please GOD, or where-ever
 ‘ it shall be, *I am sure*, I shall go to the man-
 ‘ sions of eternal glory, &c.’ And this is per-
 fectly agreeable to the manner in which he used
 to speak to me on this head, which we have tal-
 ked over frequently and largely.

§ 72. In this connection I hope my reader
 will forgive my inserting a little story which I
 received from a very worthy *minister* in *Scotland*,
 and which I shall give in his own words : ‘ In
 this period,’ meaning that which followed the
 ‘ first seven years after his conversion, ‘ when his
 ‘ complaint of comparative deadness and languor
 ‘ in religion began, he had a *dream* ; which,
 ‘ though he had no turn at all for taking notice
 ‘ of dreams, yet made a very strong impression
 ‘ upon his mind. He imagined that he saw his
 ‘ blessed Redeemer on earth, and that he was fo-
 ‘ lowing him through a large field, *following him*
 ‘ *whom his soul loved*, but much troubled, be-
 ‘ cause he thought his blessed Lord did not speak
 ‘ to him ; till he came up to the gate of a *bury-*
 ‘ *ing-place*, when turning about he smiled upon
 E ‘ him,

‘ him, in such a manner as filled his soul with
‘ the most ravishing joy ; and on after reflection
‘ animated his faith, in believing that whatever
‘ storms and darkness he might meet with in the
‘ way *at the hour of death*, his glorious Redeemer
‘ would lift up upon him *the light of his life-gi-*
‘ *ving countenance.*’ My correspondent adds a
circumstance, for which he makes some apology,
as what may seem whimsical, and yet made some
impression on himself ; ‘ that there was a re-
markable resemblance in *the field* in which this
brave man met death, and *that* he had represent-
ed to him *in the dream.*’ I did not fully under-
stand this at first ; but a passage in that *letter*
from *Mr Spears*, which I have mentioned more
than once, has cleared it. ‘ Now observe, Sir,
‘ this seems to be *a literal description* of the place
‘ where this *Christian Hero* ended his sorrows
‘ and conflicts, and from which he *entered trium-*
‘ *phantly into the joy of his Lord* For after he
‘ fell in battle, fighting gloriously for his king
‘ and the cause of his God, his wounded body,
‘ while life was yet remaining, was carried from
‘ the field of battle by the east side of his own
‘ inclosure, till he came to the *church-yard* of
‘ *Tranent*, and was brought to the minister’s
‘ house ; where he soon breathed out his soul in-
‘ to the hands of his Lord, and was conducted to
‘ *his*

‘his presence, where there is fulness of joy without any cloud or interruption for ever.’

§ 73. I well know, that *in dreams* there are *diverse vanities*, and readily acknowledge, that nothing certain could be inferred from this: yet it seems at least to shew, which way the imagination was working even in sleep; and I cannot think it unworthy of a wise and good man, sometimes to reflect with complacency on any images, which passing through his mind even in that state, may tend either to express, or to quicken, his love to the great Saviour. Those eminently pious *divines* of the church of *England*, Bishop Bull, and Bishop Kenn, do both intimate it as their opinion, that it may be a part of the service of *ministering angels* to suggest *devout dreams* *: and I know, that the

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worthy

* Bishop Bull has these remarkable words: ‘Although I am no doater on *dreams*, yet I verily believe, that *some dreams* are *monitory*, above the power of fancy, and impressed upon us by some superior influence. For of *such dreams* we have plain and undeniable instances in history, both sacred and profane, and in our own age and observation. Nor shall I so value the laughter of *Sceptics*, and the scoffs of the *Epicureans*, as to be ashamed to profess that *I myself* have had some *convincing experiments* of such impressions.’ Bishop Bull’s *Sermon and Disc.* Vol. II. pag. 489, 490.

worthy person of whom I speak, was well acquainted with that *midnight hymn* of the latter of those excellent writers, which has these lines:

- ‘ Lord, lest the tempter me surprize,
- ‘ Watch over thine own sacrifice !
- ‘ All loose, all idle thoughts cast out ;
- ‘ And make my very *dreams* devout !’

Nor would it be difficult to produce other passages much to the same purpose †, if it would not be deemed too great a digression from our subject, and too laboured a vindication of a little incident,

† If I mistake not, the same *Bishop Kenn* is the author of a *midnight hymn*, concluding with these words :

- ‘ May my æthereal Guardian kindly spread
- ‘ His wings, and from the tempter screen my head ;
- ‘ Grant of celestial light some piercing beams,
- ‘ To bless my sleep, and *sanctify my dreams* !’

As he certainly was of those exactly parallel lines :

- ‘ Oh may my Guardian, while I sleep,
- ‘ Close to my bed his vigils keep ;
- ‘ His love angelical instil,
- ‘ Stop all the avenues of ill !
- ‘ May he celestial joys rehearse,
- ‘ And thought to thought with me converse !’

incident, of very small importance, when compared with most of those which make up this narrative.

§ 74. I meet not with any other remarkable event relating to *Major Gardiner*, which can properly be introduced here, till the year 1726; when, on the 11th day of *July*, he was married to the Right Honourable the *Lady Frances Erskine*, daughter to the late *Earl of Buchan*, by whom he had three children, five only of whom survived their father, two sons, and three daughters: whom I cannot mention without the most fervent prayers to God for them, that they may always behave worthy the honour of being descended from such parents; and that the God of their father, and of their mother, may make them perpetually the care of his providence, and yet more eminently happy in the constant and abundant influences of his grace!

§ 75. As her *Ladyship* is still living, (and for the sake of her dear offspring, and numerous friends, may she long be spared) I shall not here indulge myself in saying any thing of her; except it be, that the *Colonel* assured me, when he had been happy in this infinite relation to her more than fourteen years, that the greatest imperfection he knew in her character was, 'that she valued and loved

‘him, much more than he deserved.’ And little did he think, in the simplicity of heart with which he spoke this, how high an encomium he was making upon her, and how lasting an honour such a testimony must leave upon her name, long as the memory of it shall continue.

§ 76. As I do not intend in these memoirs a laboured essay on the *character* of Colonel Gardiner, digested under the various virtues and graces which Christianity requires, (which would, I think, be a little too formal for a work of this kind, and would give it such an *air of panegyric*, as would neither suit my design, nor be at all likely to render it more useful;) I shall now mention what I have either observed in him, or heard concerning him, with regard to those *domestic relations*, which commenced about this time, or quickly after. And here my reader will easily conclude, that the resolution of *Josbua* was from the first adopted and declared, *as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord*. It will naturally be supposed, that as soon as he had a *house*, he erected an *altar* in it; that the word of GOD was read there, and prayers and praises were constantly offered. These were not to be omitted, on account of any guest; for he esteemed it a part of due respect to those that remained under his roof, to take it for granted,

granted, they would look upon it as a very bad compliment, to imagine they would have been obliged, by neglecting the duties of religion on their account. As his family increased, he had a *minister* stately resident in his house, who both discharged the office of a *tutor* to his children, and of a *chaplain*; and who was always treated with a becoming kindness and respect. But in his absence, the *Colonel himself* led the devotions of the family; and they were happy, who had an opportunity of knowing, with how much solemnity, fervour, and propriety, he did it.

§ 77. He was constant in attendance upon *public worship*, in which an exemplary care was taken, that the *children* and *servants* might accompany the heads of the family. And how he would have resented the non-attendance of any member of it, may easily be conjectured, from a free, but lively passage, in a *letter* to one of his intimate friends, on an occasion which it is not material to mention: ‘Oh, Sir, ‘had a child of yours under my roof, *but once* ‘*neglected* the public worship of God, when ‘he was able to attend it, I should have ‘been ready to conclude he had been *dis-* ‘*tracted*, and should have thought of shav- ‘ing his head, and confining him in a dark ‘room.’

§ 78. He always treated *his lady* with a manly tenderness, giving her the most natural evidences of a cordial habitual esteem, and expressing a most affectionate sympathy with her, under the infirmities of a very delicate constitution, much broken, at least towards the latter years of their marriage, in consequence of so frequent pregnancy. He had at all times a most faithful care of all her interests, and especially those relating to the state of religion in her mind. His *conversation* and his *letters* concurred to cherish those sublime ideas which Christianity suggests; to promote our submission to the will of God, to teach us to center our happiness in the great Author of our being, and to live by faith in the invisible world. These, no doubt, were frequently the subjects of mutual discourse: and many *letters*, which her *Ladyship* has had the goodness to communicate to me, are most convincing evidences of the degree in which this noble and most friendly care filled his mind, in the days of their separation; days, which so entire a mutual affection must have rendered exceeding painful, had they not been supported by such exalted sentiments of piety, and sweetened by daily communion with an ever present and ever gracious God.

§ 79. The necessity of being so many months together

together distant from his family, hindered him from many of those condescending labours in cultivating the minds of *his children*, in early life, which to a soul so benevolent, so wise, and so zealous, would undoubtedly have afforded a very exquisite pleasure. The care of his worthy consort, who well knew that it is one of the brightest parts of a mother's character and one of the most important views in which the sex can be considered, made him the easier under such a circumstance: but when he was with them, he failed not to instruct and admonish them; and the constant deep sense with which he spoke of divine things, and the real unaffected indifference which he always shewed for what this vain world is most ready to admire, were excellent lessons of daily wisdom, which I hope they will recollect with advantage in every future scene of life. And I have seen such hints in his *letters* relating to them, as plainly shew with how great a weight they lay on his mind, and how highly he desired above all things, that they might be the faithful disciples of CHRIST; and acquainted betimes with the unequalled pleasures and blessings of religion. He thought an excess of delicacy, and of indulgence, one of the most dangerous faults in education, by which he every where saw great numbers of young people undone: yet he was solicitous to guard a-

gainst a severity, which might terrify or discourage; and though he endeavoured to take all prudent precautions to prevent the commission of faults, yet, when then they had been committed, and there seemed to be a sense of them, he was always ready to make the most candid allowances for the thoughtfulness of unripened years, and tenderly to cherish every purpose of a more proper conduct for the time to come.

§ 80. It was easy to perceive, that the openings of genius in the young branches of his family gave him great delight, and that he had a secret ambition to see them excel in what they undertook. Yet he was greatly cautious over his heart, lest it should be too fondly attached to them; and as he was one of the most eminent proficient I ever knew, in the blessed science of *resignation to the divine will*, so there was no effect of that resignation which appeared to me more admirable, than what related to *the life of his children*. An experience, which no length of time will ever efface out of my memory, has so sensibly taught me, how difficult it is fully to support the Christian character here, that I hope my reader will pardon me, (I am sure at least the heart of wounded parents will,) if I dwell a little longer upon so interesting a subject.

§ 81. When he was in *Herefordshire*, in the month of *July*, in the year 1734, it pleased *GOD* to visit his little family with the *Small-Pox*. Five days before the date of the letter I am just going to mention, he had received the agreeable news, that there was a prospect of the recovery of *his son*, then under that awful visitation; and he had been expressing his thankfulness for it, in a letter which he had sent away but a few hours before he was informed of *his death*; the surprize of which, in this connection, must naturally be very great. But behold (says the reverend and worthy person from whom I received the copy,) his truly filial submission to the will of his heavenly Father, in the following lines addressed to the dear partner of his affliction: ‘Your *resignation* to the will of *GOD* under this dispensation gives me *more joy*, than the death of the child has given me sorrow. He, to be sure, is happy; and we *shall go to him*, though *he shall not return to us*. Oh that we had our latter end always in view!— We shall soon follow; and oh what reason have we to long for that glorious day, when we shall get quit of *this body of sin and death*, under which we now groan, and which renders this life so wretched! I desire to bless *GOD*, that—(another of his children) is in so good a way: But I have resigned her. We must not

' chuse for ourselves; and it is well *we must not,*
 ' for we should often make a very bad choice.
 ' And therefore it is our wisdom, as well as our
 ' duty, to leave all with a gracious GOD; who
 ' hath promised, *all things shall work together*
 ' *for good to those that love him:* And he is
 ' *faithful that hath promised,* who will infallibly
 ' perform it, if our unbelief does not stand in
 ' the way.'

§ 82. The greatest trial of this kind that he
 ever bore, was in the removal of his *second son,*
 who was one of the most amiable and promising
 children that has been known. The dear little
 creature was the darling of all that knew him;
 and promised very fair, so far as *a child could be*
known by its doings, to have been a great orna-
 ment to the family, and blessing to the public.
 The suddenness of the stroke must, no doubt,
 render it the more painful; for this beloved
 child was snatched away by an illness, which
 seized him but about 15 hours before it carri-
 ed him off. He died in the month of *October,*
 1733, at near six years old. Their friends were
 ready to fear, that his affectionate parents would
 be almost overwhelmed with such a loss: But
 the happy father had so firm a persuasion, that
 GOD had received the dear little one to the
 felicities of the celestial world; and at the same
 time had so strong a sense of the divine goodness,
 in

in taking one of his children, and that too one who lay so near his heart, *so early to himself*; that the sorrows of nature were quite swallowed up in the sublime joy which these considerations administered. When he reflected, what human life is; how many its snares and temptations are; and how frequently children, who once promised very well, are insensibly corrupted, and at length undone; *with Solomon, he blessed the dead already dead, more than the living who were yet alive*, and felt an unspeakable pleasure, in looking after the lovely infant, as safely and delightfully lodged in the house of its heavenly Father. Yea, he assured me, that his heart was at this time so entirely taken up with these views, that he was afraid, they who did not thoroughly know him, might suspect, that he was deficient in the natural affections of a parent; while thus borne above the anguish of them, by the views which faith administered to him, and which divine grace supported in his soul.

§ 83. So much did he, on one of the most trying occasions of life, manifest of the temper of a glorified saint; and to such happy purposes did he retain those lessons of submission to God, and acquiescence in him, which I remember he once inculcated in a letter he wrote to a lady of quality, under the apprehension of a breach in her family, with which providence seemed

seemed to threaten her, which I am willing to insert here, though a little out of what might seem its most proper place, rather than intirely to omit it. It is dated from *London, June 6, 1722*, when speaking of the dangerous illness of a dear relative, he has these words: ‘When my mind runs hither,’ that is, to GOD, as its refuge and strong defence, (as the connection plainly determines it;) ‘I think I can bear any thing, *the loss of all*, the loss of health, of relations, on whom I depend, and whom I love, *all that is dear to me*, without repining or murmuring. When I think, that GOD orders, disposes, and manages all things, *according to the counsel of his own will*; when I think of the extent of his providence, that it reaches to the minuteft things; then, though a useful friend or dear relative be snatched away by death, I recal myself, and check my thoughts with these considerations: is he not GOD, *from everlasting and to everlasting?* And has he not promised to be a GOD to me? A GOD in all his attributes, a GOD in all his persons, a GOD in all his creatures, and providences? And shall I dare to say, *What shall I do?* Was not he the infinite cause of all I met with *in the creatures?* And were not *they* the finite effects of his infinite love and kindness? I have daily experienced, that *the instrument*

was,

COLONEL GARDINER. III

' was, and is, what GOD *makes it to be*; and I
 ' know, that this GOD *hath the hearts of all men*
 ' *in his hands, and the earth is the Lord's, and*
 ' *the fulness thereof*. If this earth be good for
 ' me, I shall have it, for my Father hath it all in
 ' possession. If favour in the eyes of men be
 ' good for me, I shall have it; for the spring of
 ' every motion in the heart of man is in GOD's
 ' hand. My dear——seems now to be dying;
 ' but GOD is all wise, and every thing is done
 ' by him for the best. Shall I hold back any
 ' thing that is *his own*, when he requires it?
 ' No, GOD forbid! When I consider the ex-
 ' cellency of his glorious attributes, I am satis-
 ' fied with all his dealings. I perceive by the
 introduction, and by what follows, that most,
 if not all of this, is a *quotation* from something
 written by a *lady*, but whether from some ma-
 nuscript, or a printed book, whether exactly trans-
 cribed, or quoted from memory, I cannot deter-
 mine: and therefore I thought proper to insert
 it, as the *Major* (for that was the office he bore
 then,) by thus interweaving it with his *letter*
 makes it his own; and as it seems to express in
 a very lively manner the principles which bore
 him on, to a conduct so truly great and heroic,
 in circumstances that have overwhelmed many
 an heart, that could have faced danger and death
 with the greatest intrepidity.

§ 84. I return now to consider his character in the domestic relation of a *master*, on which I shall not enlarge. It is however proper to remark, that as his habitual meekness, and command of his passions, prevented indecent sallies of *ungoverned anger* towards those in the lowest state of subjection to him, (by which some in high life do strangely debase themselves, and lose much of their authority,) so the natural greatness of his mind made him solicitous to render their inferior stations as easy as he could; and so much the rather, because he considered *all the children of Adam* as standing upon a level before their great Creator, and had also a deeper sense of the dignity and worth of every immortal soul, how meanly soever it might chance to be lodged, than most persons I have known. This engaged him to give *his servants* frequent religious exhortations and instructions, as I have been assured by several who were so happy as to live with him under that character. One of the first *letters* after he entered on his Christian course, expresses the same disposition; in which with great tenderness he recommends a *servant*, who was in a bad state of health, to *his mother's care*, as he was well acquainted with her condescending temper; mentioning at the same time the endeavours he had used, to promote his preparations for a better world, under an apprehension

apprehension that he would not continue long in this. And we shall have an affecting instance of the prevalency of the same disposition, in the closing scene of his life, and indeed in the last words he ever spoke, which expressed his generous solicitude for the safety of a *faithful servant*, who was then near him.

§ 8. As it was a few years after his marriage that he was promoted to the rank of *Lieutenant Colonel*, in which he continued till he had a regiment of his own, I shall for the future speak of him by that title; and may not perhaps find any more proper place, in which to mention, what it is proper for me to say of his behaviour and conduct as an *officer*. I shall not here enlarge on his *bravery in the field*, though that was very remarkable, as I have heard from others: I say, *from others*, for I never heard any thing of that kind from himself, nor knew, till after his death, that he was present at almost every battle that was fought in *Flanders*, while the illustrious *Duke of Marlborough* commanded the allied army there. I have also been assured from several very credible persons, some of whom were eye-witnesses, that at the skirmish with the *Rebels* at *Preston* in *Lancashire*, (thirty years before that engagement at the other *Preston*, which deprived us of this gallant guardian of his country,) he signalized himself

himself very particularly: for he headed a little body of men, I think about twelve, and set fire to the barricado of the *Rebels*, in the face of their whole army, while they were pouring in their shot, by which eight of the twelve that attended him fell. This was the last action of the kind in which he was engaged, before the long peace which ensued: and who can express, how happy it was for him and indeed for his country, of which he was ever so generous, and in his latter years so important a friend, that he did not fall then; when the profaneness which mingled itself with this martial rage, seemed to rend the heavens, and shocked some other military gentlemen, who were not themselves remarkable for their caution in this respect.

§ 86. But I insist not on things of this nature, which the true greatness of his soul would hardly ever permit him to mention, unless when it tended to illustrate the divine care over him in these extremities of danger, and the grace of God in calling him from so abandoned a state. It is well known, that the character of an officer is not only to be approved in the day of combat. *Colonel Gardiner* was truly sensible, that every day brought its duties along with it; and he was constantly careful, that no pretence of amusement, friendship, or even devotion itself, might

might prevent their being discharged in their season.

§. 87. I doubt not, but the noble persons in whose regiment he was *Lieutenant Colonel*, will always be ready to bear an honourable and grateful testimony to his exemplary diligence and fidelity, in all that related to the *care of the troops* over which he was set, whether with regard to the men or the horses. He knew, that it is incumbent on those who have the honour of presiding over others, whether in civil, ecclesiastical, or military offices, not to content themselves with doing only so much as may preserve them from the reproach of gross and visible neglect; but seriously to consider, how much they can possibly do, without going out of their proper sphere, to serve the public, by the due inspection of those committed to their care. The duties of the *closet*, and of the *sanctuary*, were so adjusted, as not to interfere with those of the *parade*, or any other place where the welfare of the regiment called him. On the other hand he was solicitous, not to suffer these things to interfere with religion; a due attendance to which he apprehended to be the surest method of attaining all desirable success in every other interest and concern in life. He therefore abhorred every thing that should *look like a contrivance* to keep his soldiers employed about their horses

horses and their arms at the seasons of *public worship*; (an indecency, which I wish there were no room to mention: far from that, he used to have them drawn up just before it began, and from the *parade* they went off to the *house of God*. He understood the rights of conscience too well, to impose his own particular profession in religion on others, or to use those who differed from him in the choice of its modes, the less kindly or respectfully on that account. But as most of his own company, and many of the rest, chose (when in *England*,) to attend him to the *dissenting chapel*, he used to march them thither in due time, so as to be there before the worship began. And I must do them the justice to say, that so far as I could ever discern, when I have seen them in large numbers before me, they behaved with as much reverence, gravity, and decorum, during the time of divine service, as any of their fellow-worshippers.

§ 88. That his remarkable care to maintain *good discipline* among them (of which we shall afterwards speak,) might be the more effectual, he made himself on all proper occasions accessible to them, and expressed a great concern for their interests, which being so genuine and sincere naturally discovered itself in a variety of instances. I remember, I had once occasion to
visit

visit one of his dragoons, in his last illness, at *Harborough*, and I found the man upon the borders of eternity; a circumstance, which, as he apprehended it himself, must add some peculiar weight and credibility to his discourse. And he then told me, in his *Colonel's* absence, that he questioned not but he should have everlasting reason to bless GOD on *Colonel Gardiner's* account, for he had been a father to him in all his interests both temporal and spiritual. He added, that he had visited him almost every day during his illness, with religious advice and instruction, as well as taken care that he should want nothing that might conduce to the recovery of his health. And he did not speak of this, as the result of any particular attachment to him, but as the manner in which he was accustomed to treat those under his command. It is no wonder, that this engaged their affection to a very great degree. And I doubt not, that if he had fought the fatal battle of *Preston-Pans* at the head of that gallant regiment of which he had the care for so many years, and which is allowed by most unexceptionable judges to be one of the finest in the *British* service, and consequently in the world, he had been supported in a much different manner; and had found a much greater number, who would have rejoiced in an opportunity

opportunity of making their own breasts a barrier in the defence of his.

§ 89. It could not but greatly endear him to his soldiers, that so far as *preferments* lay in his power, or were under his influence, they were distributed *according to merit*: which he knew to be as much the dictate of prudence as of equity. I find by one of his *letters* before me, dated but a few months after his happy change, that he was solicited to improve his interest with the *Earl of Stair*, in favour of one whom he judged a very worthy person; and that it had been suggested by another who recommended him, that if he succeeded he might expect some handsome acknowledgment. But he answers with some degree of indignation, ‘Do you imagine I am to be bribed *to do justice*?’ For such it seems he esteemed it, to confer the favour which was asked from him, on one so deserving. Nothing can more effectually tend to humble the enemies of a State, than that such maxims should universally prevail in it: and if they do not prevail, the worthiest men in an army or fleet may be sunk under repeated discouragements, and the basest exalted, to the infamy of the public, and perhaps to its ruin.

§ 90. In the midst of the gentleness which *Colonel Gardiner* exercised towards his soldiers, he

he made it very apparent, that he knew how to reconcile the *tenderness* of a real, faithful, and condescending friend, with the *authority* of a commander. Perhaps hardly any thing conduced more generally to the maintaining of this authority than the strict decorum and good manners with which he treated even the private gentlemen of his regiment; which has always a great efficacy towards keeping inferiors at a proper distance, and forbids, in the least offensive manner, familiarities, which degrade the superior, and enervate his influence. The calmness and steadiness of his behaviour on all occasions, did also greatly tend to the same purpose. He knew how mean a man looks in the transports of *passion*, and would not use so much freedom with any of his men, as to fall into such transports before them; well knowing, that persons in the lowest rank of life are aware how unfit they are to govern others, who cannot govern themselves. He was also sensible, how necessary it is in all who preside over others, and especially in military officers, to check irregularities, when they first begin to appear: And that he might be able to do it, he kept a strict inspection over his soldiers; in which view it was observed, that as he generally chose to reside among them as much as he could, (tho' in circumstances which sometimes occasioned him to deny himself in some interests which were ve-

ry dear to him,) so when they were around him he seldom staid long in a place; but was frequently walking the streets, and looking into their quarters and stables, as well as reviewing and exercising them himself. It has often been observed, that the *regiment* of which he was so many years *Lieutenant Colonel*, was one of the most *regular* and *orderly* regiments in the public service; so that perhaps none of our *dragoons* were more welcome than they, to the towns where their character was known. Yet no such bodies of men are so blameless in their conduct, but something will be found, especially among such considerable numbers, worthy of censure, and sometimes of *punishment*. This *Colonel Gardiner* knew how to inflict with a becoming resolution, and with all the severity which he judged necessary: A *severity* the more awful and impressing, as it was always attended with *meekness*; for he well knew, that when things are done in a passion, it seems only an accidental circumstance that they are acts of justice, and that such indecencies greatly obstruct the ends of punishments, both as it relates to reforming offenders, and to deterring others from an imitation of their faults.

§ 91. One instance of his conduct, which happened at *Leicester*, and was related by the person chiefly concerned, to a worthy friend from whom

whom I had it, I cannot forbear inserting. While part of the regiment was encamped in the neighbourhood of that place, the *Colonel* went incognito to the camp in the middle of the night; for he sometimes lodged at his quarters in the town. One of the centinels then on duty had abandoned his post, and on being seized broke out into some *oaths*, and profane *execrations* against those that discovered him, a crime of which the *Colonel* had the greatest abhorrence, and on which he never failed to animadvert. The man afterwards appeared much ashamed and concerned for what he had done. But the *Colonel* ordered him to be brought early the next morning to his own quarters, where he had prepared a *piquet*, on which he appointed him a private sort of penance: And while he was put upon it, he discoursed with him seriously and tenderly upon the evils and aggravations of his fault; admonished him of the divine displeasure, which he had incurred; and urged him to argue from the pain which he then felt, how infinitely more dreadful it must be, to *fall into the hands of the Living G O D*, and *indeed* to meet the terrors of that *damnation* which he had been accustomed impiously to call for on himself and his companions. The result of this proceeding was, that the offender accepted his punishment, not only with submission, but with thankfulness. He went a-

way with a more cordial affection for his *Colonel* than he ever had before; and spoke of it some years after to my friend, in such a manner, that there seemed reason to hope, it had been instrumental in producing, not only a change in his life, but in his heart.

§ 92. There cannot, I think, be a more proper place for mentioning the great reverence this excellent officer always expressed for the name of the blessed God, and the zeal with which he endeavoured to suppress, and if possible to extirpate, that *detestable sin of swearing and cursing* which is every where so common, and especially among our military men. He often declared his sentiments with respect to this enormity, at the head of his regiment; and urged his captains and their subalterns, to take the greatest care, that they did not give the sanction of their example, to that which by their office they were obliged to punish in others. And indeed this zeal on these occasions wrought in a very active, and sometimes in a remarkably successful manner, not only among his equals, but sometimes among his superiors too. An instance of this in *Flanders*, I shall have an opportunity hereafter to produce; at present I shall only mention his conduct in *Scotland* a little before his death, as I have it from a very valuable *young minister* of that country, on whose testimony

testimony I can thoroughly depend; and I wish it may excite many to imitation.

§ 93. The *commanding officer* of the king's forces then about *Edinburgh*, with the other *Colonels*, and several other gentlemen of rank in their respective regiments, favoured him with their company at *Bankton*, and took a dinner with him. He too well foresaw what might happen, amidst such a variety of tempers and characters: And fearing, lest his conscience might have been ensnared by a sinful silence, or that on the other hand he might seem to pass the bounds of decency, and infringe upon the laws of hospitality, by animadverting on guests so justly intitled to his regard; he happily determined on the following method of avoiding each of these difficulties. As soon as they came together, he addressed them with a great deal of respect, and yet at the same time with a very frank and determined air; and told them, that he had the honour in that district to be a *justice of the peace*, and consequently that he was sworn to put *the Laws* in execution, and among the rest those against *swearing*: That he could not execute them upon others with any confidence, or by any means approve himself as a man of impartiality and integrity to his own heart, if he suffered them to be broken in his presence by persons of any rank whatsoever:

And that therefore he intreated all the gentlemen who then honoured him with their company, that they would please to be upon their guard; and that if any *oath* or *curse* should escape them, he hoped they would consider his legal animadversion upon it, as a regard to the duties of his office and the dictates of his conscience, and not as owing to any want of deference to them. The *commanding officer* immediately supported him in this declaration, as entirely becoming the station in which he was, assuring him, that he would be ready to *pay the penalty*, if he inadvertently transgressed; and when *Colonel Gardiner* on any occasion stepped out of the room, he himself undertook to be the Guardian of the law in his absence; and as one of the inferior officers offended during this time, he informed the *Colonel*, so that the fine was exacted, and given to the poor †, with the universal approbation of the company. The story spread in the neighbourhood, and was perhaps
applauded

† It is observable, that the *money*, which was forfeited on this account by *his own officers* whom he never spared, or by any others of *his soldiers*, who rather chose to pay than to submit to corporal punishment, was by the *Colonel's* order laid by in a bank, till some of the private men fell sick: and then it was laid out in providing them with proper help and accommodations in their distress.

applauded highly by many, who wanted the courage to *go and do likewise*. But it may be said of the worthy person of whom I write, with the utmost propriety, that he feared the face of no man living where the honour of God was concerned. In all such cases he might be justly said, in scripture-phrase, to *set his face like a flint*; and I assuredly believe, that had he been in the presence of a Sovereign Prince, who had been guilty of this fault, his looks at least would have testified his grief and surprize; if he had apprehended it unfit to have borne his testimony any other way.

§ 94. Lord Cadogan's regiment of dragoons, during the years I have mentioned, while he was *Lieutenant Colonel* of it, was quartered in a great variety of places, both in *England* and *Scotland*, from many of which I have letters before me; particularly, from *Hamilton, Ayr, Carlisle, Hereford, Maidenhead, Leicester, Warwick, Coventry, Stamford, Harborough, Northampton*, and several other places, especially in our inland parts. The natural consequence was, that the *Colonel*, whose character was on many accounts so very remarkable, had a very extensive acquaintance: And I believe I may certainly say, that where-ever he was known by persons of wisdom and worth, he was proportionably respected, and left behind him tra-

ces of unaffected devotion, humility, benevolence, and zeal for the support and advancement of religion and virtue.

§ 95. The equable tenor of his mind in these respects, is illustrated by his *letters* from several of these places ; and tho' it is but comparatively a small number of them which I have now in my hands, yet they will afford some valuable *extracts* ; which I shall therefore here lay before my reader, that he may the better judge as to his real character, in particulars of which I have already discoursed, or which may hereafter occur.

§ 96. In a letter to *his lady*, dated from *Carlisle*, Nov. 19, 1733, when he was on his journey to *Herefordshire*, he breathes out his grateful chearful soul in these words : ' I bless
' GOD, I was never better in my life-time ;
' and I wish I could be so happy, as to hear the
' same of you ; or rather, (in other words,) to
' hear that you had obtained an entire *trust in*
' GOD. That would infallibly *keep you in per-*
' *fect peace* ; for *the GOD of truth* hath promised
' it. Oh, how ought we to be longing *to be with*
' *Christ*, which is *infinitely better* than any thing
' we can propose here ! To be *there*, where all
' complaints shall be for ever banished ; where
' no mountains shall separate between GOD and
' our souls : And I hope it will be some additi-

' on

‘on to our *happiness*, that you and I shall be *separated no more*; but that as we have joined in singing the praises of our glorious Redeemer here, we shall sing them in a much higher key thro’ an endless eternity. Oh eternity, eternity! What a wonderful thought is eternity!

§ 97. From *Leicester, August 6, 1739*, he writes thus to *his lady*: ‘Yesterday I was at the *Lord’s table*, where you and the children were not forgotten: But how wonderfully was I assisted when I came home, to plead for you all with many tears!’ And then, speaking of some intimate friends, who were impatient (as I suppose by the connection) for his return to them, he takes occasion to observe the necessity of endeavouring to compose our minds, and to say with the Psalmist, *My soul, wait thou only upon GOD.* Afterwards, speaking of *one of his children*, of whom he heard that he made a commendable *progress in learning*, he expresses his satisfaction in it, and adds, ‘But how much greater joy would it give me, to hear that he was greatly advanced in the *school of Christ*! Oh that our children may but be *wise to salvation*; and may grow in *grace*, as they do in *stature*!’

§ 98. These letters, which to so familiar a friend evidently lay open the heart, and shew the ideas and affections which were lodged deep-

est there, are sometimes taken up with an account of *sermons* he had attended, and the impression they had made upon his mind. I shall mention one only, as a specimen of many more, which was dated from a place called *Coborn*, April 15. ' We had here a minister from *Wales*, ' who gave us two excellent discourses on the ' *love of Christ to us*, as an argument to engage our ' *love to him*. And indeed, next to the greatness ' of his love to us, methinks there is nothing so ' astonishing as the coldness of our love to him. ' Oh that he would shed abroad his love upon our ' hearts by his *Holy Spirit*, that ours might be ' kindled into a flame ! May God enable you to ' trust in him, and then you will be kept in perfect peace !'

§ 99. We have met with many traces of that habitual *gratitude* to the blessed God, as his heavenly Father and constant friend, which made his life probably one of the happiest that ever was spent on earth. I cannot omit one more, which appears to me the more worthy of notice, as being a short turn in as hasty a letter as any I remember to have seen of his which he wrote from *Leicester*, in *June*, 1739. ' I am ' now under the deepest sense of the many favours the Almighty has bestowed upon me : ' Surely you will help me to celebrate the praises ' of our gracious God and kind benefactor.'

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This exuberance of grateful affection, which, while it was almost every hour pouring itself forth before GOD in the most genuine and emphatical language, felt itself still as it were *straitened for want of a sufficient vent*, and therefore called on others to help him with their concurrent praises, appears to me the most glorious and happy state in which a human soul can find itself on this side heaven.

§ 100. Such was the temper which this excellent man appears to have carried along with him through such a variety of places and circumstances; and the whole of his deportment was suitable to these impressions. Strangers were agreeably struck with his first appearance, there was so much of the Christian, the well bred man, and the universal friend in it; and as they came more intimately to know him, they discovered more and more the uniformity and consistency of his whole temper and behaviour: so that whether he made only a visit for a few days to any place, or continued there for many weeks or months, he was always beloved and esteemed, and spoken of with that honourable testimony from persons of the most different denominations and parties, which nothing but *true sterling worth*, (if I may be allowed the expression,) and that in an eminent degree, can secure.

§ 101. Of the justice of this testimony, which I had so often heard from a variety of persons, I myself began to be witness about the time when the last-mentioned *letter* was dated. In this view I believe I never shall forget that happy day, *June 13, 1739*, when I first met him at *Leicester*. I remember, I happened that day to preach a lecture from *Psalms cxix. 158. I beheld the transgressors, and was grieved, because they kept not thy law.* I was large in describing that mixture of *indignation and grief*, (strongly expressed by the original word there,) with which the good man looks on the daring *transgressors* of the divine law; and in tracing the causes of *that grief*, as arising from a regard to the divine honour, and the interest of a Redeemer, and a compassionate concern for the misery such offenders bring on themselves, and for the mischief they do to the world about them. I little thought, how exactly I was drawing *Colonel Gardiner's* character under each of those heads; and I have often reflected upon it as a happy providence, which opened a much speedier way than I could have expected, to the breast of one of the most amiable and useful friends which I ever expect to find upon earth. We afterwards sung a *hymn*, which brought over again some of the leading thoughts in the sermon, and struck him so strongly, that on obtaining a copy of it,

he

he committed it to his memory, and used to repeat it with so forcible an accent, as shewed how much every line expressed of his very soul. In this view the reader will pardon my inserting it; especially, as I know not when I may get time to publish a volume of these serious, though artless compositions, which I sent him in manuscript some years ago, and to which I have since made very large additions:

I.

Arise, my tend'rest thoughts, arise,
To torrents melt my streaming eyes!
And thou, my heart, with anguish feel
Those evils which thou canst not heal!

II.

See human nature sunk in shame!
See scandals pour'd on *Jesus'* name!
The Father wounded thro' the Son!
The world abus'd, the soul undone!

III.

See the short course of vain delight
Closing in everlasting night!
In flames that no abatement know,
The briny tears for ever flow.

IV.

My GOD, I feel the mournful scene;
My bowels yearn o'er dying men:

And fain my pity would reclaim,
And snatch the fire-brands from the flame.

V.

But feeble my compassion proves,
And can but weep, where most it loves :
Thine own all-saving arm employ,
And turn these drops of grief to joy !

§ 102. The *Colonel*, immediately after the conclusion of the service, met me in the vestry, and embraced me in the most obliging and affectionate manner, as if there had been a long friendship between us; assured me, that he had for some years been intimately acquainted with my writings; and desired, that we might concert measures for spending some hours together, before I left the town. I was so happy, as to be able to secure an opportunity of doing it; and I must leave it upon record, that I cannot recollect, I was ever equally edified by any conversation I remember to have enjoyed. We passed that evening and the next morning together; and it is impossible for me to describe the impression which the interview left upon my heart. I rode alone all the remainder of the day; and it was my unspeakable happiness that I was *alone*, since I could be no longer with him; for I can hardly conceive, what other company would not then have been an incumbrance.

brance. The views which he gave me even then, (for he began to repose a most obliging confidence in me, though he concealed some of the most extraordinary circumstances of the methods by which he had been recovered to God and happiness,) with those cordial sentiments of evangelical piety and extensive goodness, which he poured out into my bosom with so endearing a freedom, fired my very soul; and I hope I may truly say, (what I wish and pray many of my readers may also adopt for themselves,) that *I glorified G O D in him*. Our epistolary correspondence immediately commenced upon my return; and though, through the multiplicity of business on both sides, it suffered many interruptions, it was in some degree the blessing of all the following years of my life, till he fell by those *unreasonable and wicked men*, who had it in their hearts, with him to have destroyed all our glory, defence, and happiness.

§ 103. The *first letter* I received from him was so remarkable, that some persons of eminent piety, to whom I communicated it, would not be content without copying it out, or making some extracts from it. I persuade myself, that my devout reader will not be displeased, that I insert the greatest part of it here; especially, as it serves to illustrate the affectionate sense which he had of the divine goodness in his conversion, though

though more than twenty years had passed since that memorable event happened. Having mentioned my ever dear and honoured friend, *Dr. Isaac Watts*, on an occasion which I hinted at above, (§ 70.) he adds, ‘I have been in pain these several years, lest that excellent person, *that sweet singer in our Israel*, should have been called to heaven before I had an opportunity of letting him know how much his works have been blessed to me, and of course, of returning him my hearty thanks: for though it is owing to the operation of the *Blessed Spirit*, that any thing works effectually upon our hearts, yet if we are not thankful to *the instrument* which God is pleased to make use of, *whom we do see*, how shall we be thankful to the Almighty *whom we have not seen*? I desire to bless God for the good news of his recovery, and intreat you to tell him, that although I cannot keep pace with him here, in celebrating the high praises of our glorious Redeemer, which is the greatest grief of my heart; yet I am persuaded, that when I join the glorious company above, where there will be no drawbacks, none will out-sing me there; because I shall not find any that will be more indebted to the wonderful riches of divine grace than I.

‘ Give

' Give me a place at thy saints feet,
 ' Or some fall'n angel's vacant seat ;
 ' I'll strive to sing as loud as they,
 ' Who sit above on brighter day.

' I know, it is natural for every one, who has
 ' felt the Almighty power, which raised our glo-
 ' rious Redeemer from the grave, to believe his
 ' case *singular* : but I have made every one in
 ' this respect submit, as soon as he has heard my
 ' story. And if you seemed so surprized at the
 ' account which I gave you, what will you be
 ' when you hear it all ?

' Oh if I had an angel's voice,
 ' And could be heard from pole to pole ;
 ' I would to all the list'ning world
 ' Proclaim thy goodness to my soul.'

He then concludes, after some expressions of en-
 dearment, (which, with whatever pleasure I re-
 view them, I must not here insert;) ' If you
 ' knew what a natural aversion I have to writing,
 ' you would be astonished at the length of this
 ' letter, which is, I believe, the longest I ever
 ' wrote. But my heart warms when I write to
 ' you, which makes my pen move the easier. I
 ' hope it will please our gracious God long to
 ' preserve you, a blessed instrument, in his hand
 ' of

‘ of doing great good in the church of **CHRIST**;
 ‘ and that you may always enjoy a thriving soul
 ‘ in a healthy body, shall be the continual pray-
 ‘ er of, &c.’

§ 104. As our intimacy grew, our mutual affection increased; and ‘*my dearest friend*,’ was the form of address with which most of his *epistles* of the last years were begun and ended. Many of them are filled up with his sentiments of those writings which I published during these years, which he read with great attention, and of which he speaks in terms which it becomes me to suppress and to impute in a considerable degree to the kind prejudices of so endeared a friendship. He gives me repeated assurances, ‘ that he was daily mindful of me in his *prayers* ;’ a circumstance, which I cannot recollect without the greatest thankfulness; the loss of which I should more deeply lament, did I not hope, that the happy effect of these prayers might still continue, and might run into all my remaining days.

§ 105. It might be a pleasure to me, to make several extracts from many others of his *letters* : But it is a pleasure which I ought to suppress, and rather to reflect with unfeigned humility, how unworthy I was of such regards from such a person, and of that divine goodness which gave me such a friend in him. I shall therefore only add two general *remarks*, which offer themselves
 from

from several of his *letters*. The one is, that there is in some of them, as our freedom increased, an agreeable vein of *humour* and *pleasantry*; which shews how easy religion sat upon him, and how far he was from placing any part of it in a gloomy melancholy, or stiff formality. The other is, that he frequently refers to *domestic circumstances*, such as the illness or recovery of my children, &c. which I am surprised how a man of his extensive and important business could so distinctly bear upon his mind. But his memory was good, and his heart was yet better; and his friendship was such, that nothing which sensibly affected the heart of one whom he honoured with it, left his own but slightly touched. I have all imaginable reason to believe, that in many instances *his prayers* were not only offered for us in general terms, but varied as our particular situation required. Many quotations might verify this; but I decline troubling the reader with an enumeration of passages, in which it was only the abundance of friendly sympathy, that gave this truly *great*, as well as *good man*, so cordial a concern.

§ 106. After this correspondence, carried on for the space of about three years, and some interviews which we had enjoyed at different places, he came to spend some time with us at *Northampton*, and brought with him *his Lady* and

and his *two eldest children*. I had here an opportunity of taking a much nearer view of *his character*, and surveying it in a much greater variety of lights than before; and my esteem for him increased, in proportion to these opportunities. What I have wrote above, with respect to his conduct in *relative life*, was in a great measure drawn from what I now saw: And I shall mention here some other points in *his behaviour*, which particularly struck my mind; and likewise shall touch on *his sentiments* on some topics of importance, which he freely communicated to me, and which I remarked on account of that wisdom and propriety which I apprehended in them.

§ 107. There was nothing more openly observable in *Colonel Gardiner*, than the exemplary gravity, composure, and reverence, with which he attended *publick worship*. Copious as he was in his secret devotions before he engaged in it, he always began them so early, as not to be retarded by them, when he should resort to the house of God. He, and all his soldiers who chose to worship with him, were generally there, (as I have already hinted) *before the service began*: that the entrance of so many of them at once might not disturb the congregation already engaged in devotion, and that there might be the better opportunity for bringing the mind to

a becoming attention, and preparing it for converse with the divine Being. While acts of worship were going on, whether of *prayer* or *singing*, he always *stood up*; and whatever regard he might have for persons who passed by him at that time, though it were to come into the same pew, he *never paid any compliment* to them; And often has he expressed his wonder at the *indecorum* of breaking off our address to God, to bow to a fellow creature; which he thought a much greater indecency, than it would be, on a little occasion and circumstance, to interrupt an address to our prince. During the time of *preaching*, his *eye* was commonly fixed upon the *minister*, though sometimes turned round upon the *auditory*, where if he observed any to *trifle*, it filled him with just indignation. And I have known instances, in which, upon making the remark, he has communicated it to some friend of the persons who were guilty of it, that proper application might be made to prevent it for the time to come.

§ 108. A more devout communicant at the *table of the Lord* has perhaps seldom been any where known. Often have I had the pleasure, to see that manly countenance softened to all the marks of humiliation and contrition, on this occasion; and to discern, in spite of all his efforts to conceal them, streams of tears flowing down from

from his eyes, while he has been directing them to those memorials of his Redeemer's love. And some, who have conversed intimately with him after he came from that ordinance, have observed a visible abstraction from surrounding objects; by which there seemed reason to imagine, that his soul was wrapped up in holy contemplation. And I particularly remember, that when we had once spent great part of the following *Monday* in riding together, he made an apology to me for being so absent as he seemed, by telling me, 'that his heart was flown upwards, before he was aware, to him *whom not having seen he loved* *; and that he *was rejoicing in him with such unspeakable joy*, that he could not hold it down to creature converse.'

§ 109. In all the *offices of friendship* he was remarkably ready, and had a most sweet and engaging manner of performing them, which greatly heightened the obligations he conferred. He seemed not to set any high value upon any benefit he bestowed; but did it without the least parade, as a thing which in those circumstances came of course, where he had professed love and respect; which he was not over forward to do, though he treated strangers, and those who were most his inferiors, very courteously, and always seemed,

* *N. B.* This alluded to the subject of the *sermon* the day before, which was 1 *Pet.* i. 8.

feemed, because he in truth always was, glad of any opportunity of doing them good.

§ 110. He was particularly zealous in *vin-
dicating the reputation* of his friends in *their ab-
sence* : And though I cannot recollect, that I had
ever an opportunity of observing this immedi-
ately, as I don't know that I ever was present
with him when any *ill* was spoken of others at
all; yet by what I have heard him say, with re-
lation to attempts to injure the character of wor-
thy men, I have reason to believe, that no man
living was more sensible of the baseness and in-
famy, as well as the cruelty, of such a conduct.
He knew, and despised the low principles of re-
sentment for unreasonable expectations disap-
pointed, of personal attachment to men of some
crossing interests, of envy, and of party zeal,
from whence such a conduct often proceeds;
and was particularly offended, when he found it
(as he frequently did) in persons that set up for
the greatest patrons of liberty, virtue, and can-
dor. He looked upon the *murderers of reputa-
tion and usefulness*, as some of the vilest pests of
society; and plainly shewed on every proper oc-
casion, that he thought it the part of a generous,
benevolent, and courageous man, to exert him-
self in tracing and hunting down the slander,
that the authors or abettors of it might be less
capable of doing mischief for the future.

§ 111. The most plausible objection that I ever heard to *Colonel Gardiner's* character is, that he was too much attached to some *religious principles*, established indeed in the churches both of *England* and *Scotland*, but which have of late years been much disputed, and from which, it is at least generally supposed, not a few in both have thought proper to depart; whatever expedients they may have found to quiet their consciences, in *subscribing those formularies*, in which they are plainly taught. His zeal was especially apparent in opposition to those doctrines which seemed to derogate from the divine honours of the *Son* and *Spirit of God*, and from the freedom of *divine grace*, or the reality and necessity of its operations in the conversion and salvation of sinners.

§ 112. With relation to these I must observe, that it was his most stedfast persuasion, that all those notions, which represent our blessed *Redeemer* and the *Holy Spirit* as mere creatures, or which set aside the *atonement* of the former, or the *influence* of the latter, do sap the very foundation of Christianity, by rejecting the most glorious doctrines peculiar to it. He had attentively observed (what indeed is too obvious) the unhappy influence which the denial of these principles often has on the character of *ministers*, and on their success; and was persuaded,

ed, that an attempt to substitute *that mutilated form of Christianity* which remains, when these essentials of it are taken away, has proved one of the most successful methods which the great enemy of souls has ever taken in these latter days, to lead men by insensible degrees into deism, vice, and perdition. He also sagaciously observed the artful manner in which obnoxious tenets are often maintained or insinuated, with all that mixture of zeal and address with which they are propagated in the world, even by those who had most solemnly professed to believe, and engaged to teach the contrary: And as he really apprehended that the glory of GOD, and the salvation of souls was concerned, his piety and charity made him eager and strenuous in opposing what he judged to be errors of so pernicious a nature. Yet I must declare, that according to what I have known of him, (and I believe he opened his heart on these topics to me with as much freedom as to any man living,) he was not ready upon any light suspicions to charge tenets which he thought so pernicious on any, especially where he saw the appearances of a good temper and life, which he always revered and loved in persons of all sentiments and professions. He severely condemned causeless jealousies, and *evil surmisings* of every kind; and extended that *charity* in this respect, both to *clergy* and *laity*,
which

which good *Bishop Burnet* was so ready, according to his own account, to limit the latter, 'of believing every man good till he knew him to be bad, and his notions right till he knew them wrong.' He could not but be very sensible of the unhappy consequences which may follow on attacking *the characters of men*, especially of those who are *ministers of the gospel*: And if through a mixture of human frailty, from which the best of men in the best of their meanings and intentions are not entirely free, he has ever, in the warmth of his heart, dropped a word which might be injurious to any on that account, (which I believe very seldom happened,) he would gladly retract it on better information: which was perfectly agreeable to that honest and generous frankness of temper in which I never knew any man who exceeded him.

§ 113. On the whole, it was indeed his deliberate judgment, that the *Arian*, *Socinian*, and *Pelagian* doctrines were highly dishonourable to GOD, and dangerous to the souls of men; and that it was the duty of private Christians, to be greatly on their guard against those *ministers* by whom they are entertained, lest their *minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ*. Yet he sincerely abhorred the thought of *persecution* for conscience sake; of the *absurdity and iniquity of which, in all its kinds and degrees,*

grees, he had as deep and rational a conviction as any man I could name. And indeed the generosity of his heroic heart could hardly bear to think, that those glorious truths, which he so cordially loved, and which he assuredly believed to be capable of such fair support, both from reason and the word of God, should be disgraced by methods of defence and propagation, common to the most impious and ridiculous falsehoods. Nor did he by any means approve of passionate and furious ways of vindicating the most vital and important doctrines of the gospel; for he knew, that to maintain the most benevolent religion in the world, by such malevolent and infernal methods, was *destroying the end to accomplish the means*; and that it was as impossible, that true Christianity shall be supported thus, as it is that a man should long be nourished by eating his own flesh. To display the genuine fruits of Christianity in a good life, to be ready to plead with meekness and sweetness for the doctrines it teaches, and to labour by every office of humanity and goodness to gain upon them that oppose it, were the *weapons* with which *this good soldier of Jesus Christ* faithfully fought the battles of the Lord. These weapons will always be victorious in his cause; and they who have recourse to others of a different temperature, how strong soever they may seem, and how sharp so-

ever they may really be, will find they break in their hands when they exert them most furiously, and are much more likely to wound themselves, than to conquer the enemies they oppose.

§ 114. But while I am speaking of *Colonel Gardiner's* charity in this respect, I must not omit that of another kind, which has indeed engrossed the name of *charity* much more than it ought, excellent as it is; I mean *alm/giving*, for which he was very remarkable. I have often wondered, how he was able to do so many generous things this way: but his *frugality* fed the spring. He made no pleasurable expence on himself, and was contented with a very decent appearance in his family, without affecting such an air of grandeur, as could not have been supported without sacrificing to it satisfactions far nobler, and to a temper like his far more delightful. The lively and tender feelings of his heart in favour of the distressed and afflicted, made it a *self-indulgence* to him to relieve them; and the deep conviction he had of the vain and transitory nature of the enjoyments of this world, together with the sublime view he had of another, engaged him to dispense his bounties with a very liberal hand, and even to seek out proper objects of them: and above all, his sincere and ardent love to the Lord JESUS CHRIST engaged him

to feel, with a true sympathy, the concerns of his poor members. In consequence of this, he honoured several of his friends with commissions for the relief of the poor; and particularly, with relation to some under my pastoral care, he referred it to my discretion to supply them with what I should judge expedient, and frequently pressed me in his letters *to be sure not to let them want*. And where persons standing in need of his charity happened, as they often did, to be persons of remarkably religious dispositions, it was easy to perceive, that he not only loved, but honoured them; and really esteemed it an honour which Providence conferred upon him, that he should be made, as it were, *the almoner of GOD* for the relief of such.

§ 115. I cannot forbear relating a little story here, which, when the *Colonel* himself heard it, gave him such exquisite pleasure, that I hope it will be acceptable to several of my readers. There was in a village about three miles from *Northampton*, and in a family which of all others near me was afterwards most indebted to him, (though he had never then seen any member of it,) an aged and poor, but eminently good woman, who had, with great difficulty in the exercise of much faith and patience, diligence, and humility, made shift to educate a large family of children, after the death of her husband, without

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being

being chargeable to the parish; which, as it was quite beyond her hope, she often spoke of with great delight. At length when worn out with age and infirmities, she lay upon her dying bed, she did in a most lively and affecting manner express her hope and joy in the views of approaching glory. Yet amidst all the triumph of such a prospect, there was one remaining care and distress which lay heavy on her mind: which was, that as her journey and her stock of provisions were both ended together, she feared, that she must either be buried at the parish expence, or leave her most dutiful and affectionate daughters the house stripped of some of the few moveables which remained in it, to perform the last office of duty to her, which she had reason to believe they would do. While she was combating with this only remaining anxiety, I happened, though I knew not the extremity of her illness, to come in, and to bring with me a *guinea*, which the generous *Colonel* had sent by a special message, on hearing the character of the family, for its relief. A present like this, (probably the most considerable they had ever received in their lives,) coming in this manner from an entire stranger, at such a crisis of time, threw my dying friend (for such, amidst all her poverty I rejoiced to call her,) into a perfect transport of joy. She esteemed it a singular favour of Providence,

vidence, sent to her in her last moment as a *token of good*, and greeted it as a special mark of that *loving kindness of G. O. D.* which should attend her for ever. She would therefore be raised up in her bed, that she might bless God for it upon her knees, and with her last breath pray for her kind and generous benefactor, and for him who had been the instrument of directing his bounty into this channel. After which she soon expired, with such tranquillity and sweetness as could not but most sensibly delight all who beheld her, and occasioned many, who knew the circumstances, to *glorify G. O. D. on her behalf.*

§ 16. The Colonel's last residence at *Northampton* was in *June and July, 1742*, when *Lord Cadogan's* regiment of dragoons was quartered here: and I cannot but observe, that where-ever that regiment came, it was remarkable, not only for the fine appearance it made, and for the exactness with which it performed its various exercises, (of which it had about this time the honour to receive the most illustrious testimonial;) but also for the great sobriety and regularity of the soldiers. Many of the officers copied after the excellent pattern, which they had daily before their eyes; and a considerable number of the *private men* seemed to be persons, not only of strict virtue, but of serious piety. And I

doubt not but they found their abundant account in it; not only in the serenity and happiness of their own minds, which is beyond comparison the most important consideration; but also, in some degree, in the obliging and respectful treatment which they generally met with in their quarters. And I mention this, because I am persuaded, that if gentlemen of their profession knew, and would reflect, how much more comfortable they make their own quarters by a sober, orderly, and obliging conduct, they would be regular out of mere self-love; if they were not influenced, as I heartily wish they may always be, by a nobler principle.

§ 117. Towards the latter end of this year he embarked for *Flanders*, and spent some considerable time with the regiment at *Ghent*, where he much regretted the want of those religious ordinances and opportunities which had made his other abodes delightful. But as he had made so eminent a progress in that divine life, which they are all intended to promote, he could not be unactive in the cause of God. I have now before me a letter dated from thence, *October, 16, 1742*, in which he writes, ‘As for me,
‘ I am indeed in a dry and barren land, where no
‘ water is. Rivers of waters run down mine
‘ eyes, because nothing is to be heard in our
‘ Sodom, but blaspheming the name of my God;
‘ and

'and I am not honoured as the instrument of
 'doing *any great service*. 'Tis true, I have re-
 'formed six or seven *field officers of swearing*. I
 'dine every day with them, and have entered
 'them into a voluntary contract, to pay a *shilling*
 'to the poor *for every oath*; and it is wonder-
 'ful to observe the effect it has had already:
 'One of them told me this day at dinner, that
 'it had really such an influence upon him, that
 'being at cards last night when another officer
 'fell a swearing, he was not able to bear it;
 'but rose up and left the company. So you
 'see, restraints at first arising from a low
 'principle may improve into something bet-
 'ter.'

§ 118. During his abode here, he had a great
 deal of business upon his hands; and had also,
 in some marches, the care of more regiments than
 his own: and it has been very delightful to me
 to observe, what a degree of converse with hea-
 ven, and the God of it, he maintained, amidst
 these scenes of hurry and fatigue; of which the
 reader may find a remarkable specimen in the
 following *letter*, dated from *Lichwick*, in the
 beginning of *April, 1743*, which was one of the
 last I received from him while abroad, and begins
 with these words. 'Yesterday being the *Lord's*
 'day, at six in the morning, I had the pleasure of
 'receiving yours at *Nortonick*; and it proved a *sub-*

‘*bath day’s blessing* to me. Sometime before it
 ‘reached me,’ (from whence by the way it may
 be observed, that his former custom of rising so
 early to his devotions was still retained,) ‘I had
 ‘been *wrestling with G O D* with many tears;
 ‘and when I had read it, I returned to my
 ‘knees again, to give hearty thanks to him for
 ‘all his goodness to you and yours, and also to
 ‘myself, in that he hath been pleased to stir up
 ‘so many who are dear to him, to be mindful
 ‘of me at the throne of grace.’ And then, af-
 ter the mention of some other particulars, he
 adds; ‘blessed and adored for ever, be the holy
 ‘name of my heavenly Father, who holds my soul
 ‘in life, and my body in perfect health! Were
 ‘I to recount his mercy and goodness to me
 ‘even in the midst of all these hurries, I should
 ‘never have done. ——— I hope, your Master
 ‘will still encourage you in his work, and
 ‘make you a blessing to many. My dear-
 ‘est friend, I am much more yours than I
 ‘can express, and shall remain so while I am
 ‘J. G.’

§ 119. In this correspondence I had a farther
 opportunity of discovering that humble *resigna-*
tion to the will of G O D, which made so amia-
 ble a part of his character, and of which before
 I had seen so many instances. He speaks, in
 the *letter* from which I have just been giving

an extract, of the hope he had expressed in summer, of seeing us again that winter; and he adds,
 'To be sure, it would have been a great pleasure to me: but we poor mortals form projects, and the Almighty ruler of the universe disposes of all as he pleases. A great many of us were getting ready for our return to *England*, when we received an order to march towards *Frankfort*, to the great surprize of the whole army, neither can any of us comprehend what we are to do there; for there is no enemy in that country, the *French* army being marched into *Bavaria*, where I am sure we cannot follow them. But it is *the will of the Lord*; and *his will be done!* I desire to bless and praise my heavenly Father, that I am *entirely resigned* to it. It is no matter where I go, or what be-comes of me, so that *G O D* may be glorified, in my life, or my death. I should rejoice much to hear, that all my friends were equally re-signed.'

§ 120. The mention of this article reminds me of another, relating to the views which he had of obtaining a *regiment* for himself. He endeavoured to deserve it by the most faithful services; some of them indeed beyond what the strength of his constitution would well bear: for the weather in some of these marches proved exceeding bad, and yet he would be always

at the head of his people, that he might look to every thing that concerned them, with the exactest care. This obliged him to neglect the beginnings of a feverish illness; the natural consequence of which was, that it grew very formidable, forced a long confinement upon him, and gave animal nature a shock which it never recovered.

§ 121. In the mean time. as he had the promise of a regiment before he quitted *England*, his friends were continually expecting an occasion of congratulating him on having received the command of one. But still they were disappointed; and on some of them the disappointment seemed to sit heavy. As for the *Colonel* himself, he seemed *quite easy* about it; and appeared much greater in that easy situation of mind, than the highest military honours and preferments could have made him. With great pleasure do I at this moment recollect the unaffected serenity and even indifference, with which he expresses himself upon this occasion, in a *letter* to me, dated about the beginning of *April*, 1743. ‘The disappointment of a regiment is
‘ nothing to me; for I am satisfied, that had it
‘ been for God’s glory, I should have had it;
‘ and I should have been sorry to have had it
‘ on any other terms. My heavenly Father has
‘ bestowed upon me infinitely more than if
‘ he

‘ he had made me emperor of the whole
‘ world.’

§ 122. I find several parallel expressions in other letters; and those to *his lady* about the same time were just in the same strain. In an extract from one which was written from *Aix la Chapelle*, April 21, the same year, I meet with these words: ‘ People here imagine I must be sadly
‘ troubled, that I have not got a *regiment*, (for
‘ six out of seven vacant are now disposed of;
‘ but they are strangely mistaken, for it has given me no sort of trouble: my heavenly Father
‘ knows what is best for me; and blessed and forever adored be his name, he has given me an
‘ entire resignation to his will: besides, I do not
‘ know that ever I met with any disappointment
‘ since I was a Christian, but it pleased God to
‘ discover to me, that it was plainly for my advantage, by bestowing *something better* upon me
‘ afterwards: Many instances of which I am
‘ able to produce; and therefore I should be
‘ the greatest of monsters, if I did not trust in
‘ him.’

§ 123. I should be guilty of a great omission, if I were not to add, how remarkably the event corresponded with his faith, on this occasion. For whereas he had no intimation, or expectation, of any thing more than a *regiment of foot*, his Majesty was pleased, out of his great goodness, to

give him *a regiment of dragoons*, which was then quartered just in his own neighbourhood. And it is properly remarked by the reverend and worthy person through whose hand this *letter* was transmitted to me, that when the *Colonel* thus expressed himself, he could have no prospect of what he afterwards so soon obtained; as *General Bland's* regiment, to which he was advanced, was only vacant on the 19th of *April*, that is, two days before the date of this letter, when it was impossible he should have any notice of that vacancy. And it also deserves observation, that some few days after the *Colonel* was thus unexpectedly promoted to the command of these dragoons, *Brigadier Cornwallis's* regiment of foot, then in *Flanders*, became vacant: Now had this happened before his promotion to *General Bland's*, *Colonel Gardiner*, in all probability, would only have had that regiment of foot, and so have continued in *Flanders*. When the affair was issued, he informs *Lady Francis* of it, in a letter dated from a village near *Frankfort*, May 3, in which he refers to his former of the 21st of *April*, observing how remarkably it was verified 'in GOD's having given him,' (for so he expresses it, agreeably to the views he continually maintained of the universal agency of divine providence,) 'what he had no expectation of, and 'what was *so much better* than that which he had
missed,

missed, a regiment of dragoons quartered at his own door.

§ 124. It appeared to him, that by this remarkable event Providence called him home. Accordingly, though he had other preferments offered him, in the army, he chose to return, and I believe, the more willingly, as he did not expect there would have been any action. Just at this time it pleased God to give him an awful instance of the uncertainty of human prospects and enjoyments, by that violent fever, which seized him at *Ghent* in his way to *England*; and perhaps the more severely, for the efforts he made to push on his journey, though he had for some days been much indisposed. It was, I think, one of the first fits of severe illness he had ever met with; and he was ready to look upon it as a sudden call into eternity: But it gave him no painful alarm in that view. He committed himself to the God of his life, and in a few weeks he was so well recovered, as to be capable of pursuing his journey, though not without difficulty: And I cannot but think it might have conduced much to a more perfect recovery than he ever attained, to have allowed himself a longer repose, in order to recruit his exhausted strength and spirits. But there was an activity in his temper, not easy to be restrained; and it was now stimulated, not only by a desire
of

of seeing his friends, but of being *with his regiment*; that he might omit nothing in his power, to regulate their morals and their discipline, and to form them for public service. Accordingly he passed through *London* about the middle of *June, 1743*, where he had the honour of waiting on their royal highnesses the *Prince and Princess of Wales*, and of receiving from both the most obliging tokens of favour and esteem. He arrived at *Northampton* on *Monday* the 20th of *June*, and spent part of three days here. But the great pleasure which his return and preferment gave us, was much abated, by observing his countenance so sadly altered, and the many marks of languor, and remaining disorder, which evidently appeared; so that he really looked *ten years older* than he had done ten months before. I had however a satisfaction, sufficient to counterbalance much of the concern which this alteration gave me, in a renewed opportunity of observing, indeed more sensibly than ever, in how remarkable a degree he was dead to the enjoyments and views of this mortal life. When I congratulated him on the favourable appearances of providence for him in the late event, he briefly told me the remarkable circumstances that attended it, with the most genuine impressions of gratitude to *God* for them; but added, 'that as *his account* was increased with his in-

' come,

‘ some, power, and influence, and *his cares*
 ‘ were proportionably increased too, it was as to
 ‘ his own personal concern *much the same to*
 ‘ *him*, whether he had remained in his former
 ‘ station, or been elevated to this; but that if
 ‘ GOD should by this means honour him, as
 ‘ an instrument of *doing more good* than he
 ‘ could otherwise have done, he should rejoice
 ‘ in it.’

§ 125. I perceived that the *near views* he
 had taken of *eternity*, in the illness from which
 he was then so imperfectly recovered, had not
 in the least alarmed him; but that he would
 have been entirely willing, had such been the
 determination of GOD, to have been *cut short*
in a foreign land, without any earthly friend near
 him, and in the midst of a journey, undertaken
 with hopes and prospects so pleasing to nature;
 which appeared to me no inconsiderable evi-
 dence of the strength of his faith. But we shall
 wonder the less at this extraordinary *resignation*,
 if we consider the joyful and assured prospect
 which he had of an happiness infinitely superior
 beyond the grave; of which that worthy *mini-*
ster of the church of *Scotland*, who had an op-
 portunity of conversing with him quickly after
 his return; and having the memorable story of
 his conversion from his own mouth, (as I have
 hinted above,) writes thus in his *letter* to me,
 dated

dated June 14, 1746—7. ‘When he came
 ‘to review his regiment at *Linlithgow*, in sum-
 ‘mer 1743, after having given me the wonder-
 ‘ful story as above, he concluded in words to
 ‘this purpose :——Let me die, whenever it
 ‘shall please GOD, or wherever it shall be, *I am*
 ‘*sure* I shall go to the mansions of eternal glory,
 ‘and enjoy my GOD and my Redeemer in heaven
 ‘for ever.’

§ 126. While he was with us at this time,
 he appeared deeply affected with the sad state of
 things as to religion and morals, and seemed to
 apprehend, that the rod of GOD was hanging
 over so sinful a nation. He observed a great
 deal of *disaffection*, which the enemies of the
 government had, by a variety of artifices, been
 raising in *Scotland* for some years; and the num-
 ber of *Jacobites* there, together with the defence-
 less state in which *our island* then was, with re-
 spect to the number of its forces at home, (of
 which he spoke at once with great concern and
 astonishment,) led him to expect an *invasion*
 from *France*, and an attempt in favour of the
Pretender, much sooner than it happened. I
 have heard him say, many years before it came
 so near being accomplished, ‘that a few thou-
 ‘sands might have a fair chance for marching
 ‘from *Edinburgh* to *London* uncontrolled, and
 ‘throw the whole kingdom into an astonish-
 ‘ment.’

'ment.' And I have great reason to believe, that this was one main consideration which engaged him to make such haste to *his regiment*, then quartered in those parts; as he imagined there was not a spot of ground where he might be more like to have a call to expose his life in the service of his country; and perhaps, by appearing on a proper call early in its defence, be instrumental in suppressing the beginnings of a most formidable mischief. How rightly he judged in these things, the event did too evidently shew.

§ 127. The evening before our last separation, as I knew I could not entertain the invaluable friend who was then my guest more agreeably, I preached a *sermon* in my own house, with some peculiar reference to his case and circumstances, from those ever-memorable words, than which I have never felt any more powerful and more comfortable: *Psalms xci. 14, 15, 16.*

'Because he hath set his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him: I will set him on high, because he hath known my name: he shall call upon me, and I will answer him: I will be with him in trouble, I will deliver him, and honour him: with long life (or length of days) will I satisfy him, and shew him my salvation.'

This scripture could not but lead our meditations to survey the character of *the good man*, as one who so *knows the name of the blessed G O D*, (has
such

such a deep apprehension of the glories and perfections of his nature,) as determinately to *set his love upon him*, to make him the supreme object of his most ardent and constant affection. And it suggested the most sublime and animating hopes to persons of such a character; that their *prayers* shall be always acceptable to God; that though they may, and must, be called out to their share in the *troubles* and calamities of life, yet they may assure themselves of the *divine presence* in all; which shall issue in their *deliverance*, in their *exaltation*, sometimes to distinguished honour and esteem among men, and, it may be, in a *long course* of useful and happy years on earth; at least, which shall undoubtedly end in *seeing*, to their perpetual delight, the complete *salvation* of God, in a world where they shall enjoy *length of days for ever and ever*, and employ them all in adoring the great Author of their salvation and felicity. It is evident, that these natural thoughts on such a scripture were matters of universal concern. Yet had I known, that this was the last time I should ever address *Colonel Gardiner*, as a minister of the gospel, and had I foreseen the scenes through which God was about to lead him, I hardly know what considerations I could have suggested with more peculiar propriety. The attention, elevation, and delight, with which
he

he heard them, was very apparent; and the pleasure which the observation of it gave me, continues to this moment. And let me be permitted to digress so far, as to add, that this is indeed the great support of a *Christian minister*, under the many discouragements and disappointments which he meets with, in his attempts to fix upon the profligate or the thoughtless part of mankind a deep sense of religious truth; that there is another important part of his work, in which he may hope to be more generally successful; as by plain, artless, but serious discourses, the great principles of Christian duty and hope may be nourished and invigorated in good men, their graces watered as at the root, and their souls animated both to persevere, and improve in holiness. And when we are effectually performing such benevolent offices, so well suiting our immortal natures to persons whose hearts are cemented with ours in the bonds of the most endearing and sacred friendship, it is too little to say, it *overpays* the fatigue of our labours; it even *swallows up* all sense of it, in the most rational and sublime pleasure.

§ 128. An incident occurs to my mind, which happened that evening, which at least for the oddness of it may deserve a place in these memoirs. I had then with me one *Thomas Porter*,

ter, a poor, but very honest and religious man, (now living at *Hatfield Broadoak* in *Essex*,) who is quite unacquainted with letters, so as not to be able to distinguish one from another; yet is master of the contents of the *Bible* in so extraordinary a degree, that he has not only fixed an immense number of *texts* in his memory, but merely by hearing them quoted in sermons has registered there the *chapter* and *verse* in which these passages are to be found: This is attended with a marvelous facility in directing those that can read, to turn to them, and a most unaccountable talent of fixing on such as suit almost every imaginable variety of circumstances in common life. There are two considerations in his case, which make it the more wonderful: The one, that he is a person of a very low genius, having, besides a stammering which makes his speech almost unintelligible to strangers, so wild and aukward a manner of behaviour, that he is frequently taken for *an idiot*, and seems in many things to be indeed so: The other, that he grew up to manhood in a very licentious course of living, and an entire ignorance of divine things, so that all these exact impressions on his memory have been made in his riper years. I thought it would not be disagreeable to the *Colonel*, to introduce to him this odd *phenomenon*, which many hundreds of people have had a curiosity

riosity to examine: And among all the strange things I have seen in him, I never remember any which equalled what passed on this occasion. On hearing the *Colonel's profession*, and receiving some hints of his *religious character*, he ran through a vast variety of *scruples*, beginning at the *Pentateuch* and going on to the *Revelation*, relating either to the dependance to be fixed on God for the success of military preparations, or to the instances and promises occurring there of his care of good men in the most imminent dangers, or to the encouragement to despise perils and death, while engaged in a good cause, and supported by the views of a happy immortality. I believe, he quoted more than twenty of these passages; and I must freely own, that I know not who could have chose them with greater propriety. If my memory do not deceive me, the last of this catalogue was that from which I afterwards preached on the lamented occasion of this great man's fall: *Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.* We were all astonished at so remarkable a fact; and I question not, but that many of my readers will think the memory of it worthy of being thus preserved.

§ 129. But to return to my main subject: The next day after the sermon and conversation of which I have been speaking, I took my last
leave

leave of my inestimable friend after attending him some part of his way Northward. The first stage of our journey was to the cottage of that poor, but very religious family, which I had occasion to mention above, as relieved, and indeed in a great measure subsisted, by his charity. And nothing could be more delightful to me than to observe the condescension with which he conversed with these his humble pensioners. We there put up our last united *prayers* together; and he afterwards expressed, in the strongest terms I ever heard him use on such an occasion, the singular pleasure with which he had joined in them. Indeed it was no small satisfaction to me to have an opportunity of recommending such a valuable friend to the protection and blessing, with that particular freedom and enlargement on what was peculiar in his circumstances, which hardly any other situation, unless we had been quite alone, could so conveniently have admitted. We went from thence to the table of a person of distinction in the neighbourhood; where he had an opportunity of shewing, in how decent and graceful a manner he could unite the *Christian* and the *Gentleman*, and give conversation an improving and religious turn, without violating any of the rules of polite behaviour, or saying or doing any thing which looked at all constrained or affected. Here we
took

took *our last embrace*, committed each other to the care of the God of heaven; and the *Colonel* pursued his journey to the North, where he spent all the remainder of his days.

§ 130. The more I reflect upon this appointment of providence, the more I discern of the beauty and wisdom of it; not only as it led directly to that glorious period of life with which God had determined to honour him, and in which, I think, it becomes all his friends to rejoice: but also, as the *retirement* on which he entered could not but have a happy tendency to favour his more immediate and compleat preparation for so speedy a remove. To which we may add, that it must probably have a very powerful influence to promote the interests of religion (incomparably the greatest of all interests) among the members of his own family; who must surely edify much by such daily lessons as they received from his lips, when they saw them illustrated and enforced by so admirable an example, and this for two compleat years. It is the more remarkable, as I cannot find from the memoirs of his life in my hands, that he had ever been *so long at home* since he had a family, or indeed, from his childhood, ever so long at a time in any one place.

§ 131. With how clear a lustre *his lamp shone*, and with what holy vigour *his loins were girded*

girded up in the service of his God, in these his latter days, I learn in part from the *letters*, of several excellent persons, in the ministry, or in secular life, with whom I have since conversed or corresponded. And in *his many letters* dated from *Bankton* during this period, I have still farther evidence, how happy he was, amidst those infirmities of body, which his tenderness for me would seldom allow him to mention; for it appears from them, what a daily intercourse he kept up with heaven, and what delightful communion with God crowned his attendance on *publick ordinances*, and his sweet hours of *devout retirement*. He mentions his *sacramental opportunities* with peculiar relish, crying out as in a holy rapture, in reference to one and another of them, 'Oh how gracious a Master do we serve! how pleasant is his service! how rich the entertainments of his love! yet, oh how poor and cold are our services!—But I will not multiply quotations of this sort, after those I have given above, which may be a sufficient specimen of many more in the same strain. This hint may suffice to shew, that the same ardour of soul held out in a great measure to the last; and indeed it seems, that towards the close of life, like the flame of a lamp almost expiring, it sometimes exerted an unusual blaze.

§ 132. He spent much of his time at *Bank-*

ton

son in *religious solitude* ; and one most intimately conversant with him assures me, that the traces of that delightful converse with GOD which he enjoyed in it, might easily be discerned in that solemn yet chearful countenance with which he often came out of his closet. Yet his exercises there must sometimes have been very mournful, considering the *melancholy views* which he had of the state of our *public affairs*. ‘ I should be glad,’ says he, (in a *letter* which he sent me, about the close of the year 1743,) ‘ to hear what wise and good people among you think of the present circumstances of things. For my own part, though I thank GOD I fear nothing for myself, my apprehensions for the public are very gloomy, considering the deplorable prevalence of almost all kinds of wickedness amongst us ; the natural consequence of the contempt of the gospel. I am daily offering my prayers to GOD for this sinful land of ours over which his judgment seems to be gathering ; and my strength is sometimes so exhausted with those strong cries and tears, which I pour out before GOD on this occasion, that I am hardly able to stand when I arise from my knees.’ If we have many remaining *to stand in the breach* with equal fervency, I hope, crying as our provocations are, GOD will still be *intreated for us*, and save us.

§ 133. Most of the *other letters* I had the pleasure of receiving from him after our last separation, are either filled, like those of former years, with tender expressions of affectionate solicitude for my domestic comfort and public usefulness, or relate to the *writings* I published during this time, or to the affairs of his *eldest son* then under my care. But these are things which are by no means of a nature to be communicated here. It is enough to remark in the general, that the *Christian* was still mingled with all the care of the *friend* and the *parent*.

134. But I think it incumbent upon me to observe, that during this time, and for some preceding years, his attention, ever wakeful to such concerns, was much engaged by some *religious appearances*, which happened about this time, both in *England* and *Scotland*; of which some may be curious to know his sentiments. He communicated them to me with the most unreserved freedom; and I cannot apprehend myself under any engagements to conceal them, as I am perswaded that it will be no prejudice to his memory that they should be publicly known.

§ 135. It was from *Colonel Gardiner's* pen that I received the first notice of that ever memorable scene which was opened at *Kilsyth*, under the ministry of the reverend *Mr Mac-Culloch*,

loch, in the month of *February* 1741-2. He communicated to me the copy of *two letters* from that eminently favoured servant of GOD, giving an account of that *extraordinary success* which had within a few days accompanied his preaching; when, as I remember, in a little more than a fortnight *a hundred and thirty* souls, who had before continued in long insensibility under the faithful preaching of the gospel, were *awakened on a sudden* to attend to it, as if it had been a new revelation brought down from heaven, and attested by as astonishing miracles as ever were wrought by *Peter* or *Paul*; tho' they heard it only from a person under whose ministry they had sat for several years. Struck with a power and majesty in the word of GOD which they had never felt before, they crowded his house night and day, making their applications to him for spiritual direction and assistance, with an earnestness and solicitude, which floods of tears and cries, that swallowed up their own words and his, could not sufficiently express. The *Colonel* mentioned this at first to me, 'as matter of eternal praise, which he knew would 'rejoice my very soul.' And when he saw it spread in the neighbouring parts, and observed the glorious reformation which it produced in the lives of great multitudes, and the abiding fruits of it for succeeding months and years, it

increased and confirmed his joy. But the facts relating to this matter have been laid before the world in so authentic a manner, and the *agency of divine grace in them* has been so rationally vindicated, and so pathetically represented, in what the reverend and judicious *Mr Webster* has written upon that subject, that it is altogether superfluous for me to add any thing farther than my hearty prayers, that the work may be as extensive as it was apparently glorious and divine.

§ 136. It was with great pleasure that he received any intelligence of a like kind from *England*; whether the *clergy* of the established church or *dissenting ministers*, whether our own countrymen or foreigners, were the instruments of it. And whatever weakness or errors might mingle themselves with valuable qualities in such a work, he appeared to love and honour them in proportion to the degree he saw reason to believe their hearts were devoted to the service of **CHRIST**, and their attempts owned and succeeded by him. I remember, that mentioning one of these gentleman who had been remarkably successful in his ministry, and seemed to have met with some very unkind usage, he says, ' I had rather be *that despised persecuted man*, to
' be an instrument in the hand of the Spirit, in
' converting so many souls, and building up so
' many in their holy faith, than I would be em-
peror

'peror of the whole world.' Yet this steady and judicious Christian, (for such he most assuredly was,) at the same time that he esteemed a man for his good intention and his worthy qualities, did not suffer himself to be hurried away into all the singularity of his sentiments, or to admire his imprudences or excesses. On the contrary, he saw and lamented that artifice which the great *father of fraud* has so long and so successfully been practising; who, like the enemies of *Israel*, when he cannot entirely prevent the building of GOD's temple, does as it were offer his assistance to carry on the work, that he may thereby get the most effectual opportunities of obstructing it. The *Colonel* often expressed his astonishment at the *wide extremes*, into which some, whom on the whole he thought very worthy men, were permitted to run in many doctrinal and speculative points; and discerned how evidently it appeared from hence that we cannot argue the *truth* of any doctrine from the *success* of the preacher; since this would be a kind of demonstration, (if I may be allowed the expression) which might equally prove both parts of a contradiction. Yet when he observed, that an high regard to the atonement and righteousness of CHRIST, and to the free grace of GOD in him, exerted by the operation of the Divine SPIRIT, was generally *common to all* who had

been peculiarly successful in the conversion and reformation of men, (how widely soever their judgments might differ in other points, and how warmly soever they might oppose each other in consequence of that diversity;) it tended greatly to confirm his faith in *these principles*, as well as to open his heart in love to *all of every denomination*, who maintained an affectionate regard to them. And tho' what he remarked as to the conduct and success of *ministers* of the most opposite strains of preaching, confirmed him in these sentiments; yet he always esteemed and loved virtuous and benevolent men, even where he thought them most mistaken in the notions they formed of religion, or in the methods by which they attempted to serve it.

§ 137. While I thus represent what all who knew him must soon have observed of *Colonel Gardiner's* affectionate regard to these peculiar doctrines of our holy religion, it is necessary that I should also inform my reader, that it was not his judgment, that the attention of *ministers* or their *hearers* should be *wholly ingrossed* by these, excellent as they are; but that *all the parts* of the scheme of truth and duty should be regarded in their due connection and proportion. Far from that distempered taste, which can bear nothing but cordials, it was his deliberate judgment that *the law* should be preached, as well as *the gospel*; and

and hardly any thing gave him greater offence, than the irreverent manner in which some, who have been ignorantly extolled as the most zealous *evangelical preachers*, have sometimes been tempted to speak of the former; much indeed to the scandal of all consistent and judicious Christians. He delighted to be instructed in *his duty*, and to hear much of the inward exercises of the spiritual and divine life. And he always wished, so far as I could observe, to have these topicks treated in a *rational* as well as a *spiritual manner*, with solidity and order of thought, with perspicuity and weight of expression; as well knowing, that *religion* is a most *reasonable service*; that God has not chosen *idiots* or *lunatics* as the instruments, or *nonsense* as the means of building up his church; and that tho' the charge of *enthusiasm* is often fixed on Christianity and its ministers, in a wild, undeserved, and indeed (on the whole) *enthusiastical* manner, by some of the loudest or most solemn *pretenders to reason*; yet there is really such a thing as *enthusiasm*, against which it becomes the true friends of the revelation to be diligently on their guard; lest Christianity, instead of being exalted, should be greatly corrupted and debased; and all manner of absurdity, both in doctrine and practice, introduced by methods, which (like *persecution*) throw truth and falsehood on a level, and render the

grossest errors, at once more plausible and more incurable. He had too much candour and equity, to fix *general charges* of this nature ; but he was really (and I think, not vainly) apprehensive, that the *emissaries* and agents of the *most corrupt church* that ever dishonoured the Christian name, (by which, it will easily be understood, I mean that of *Rome*,) might very possibly insinuate themselves into societies, to which they could not otherwise have access, and make their advantage of that total resignation of the understanding, and contempt of reason and learning, which nothing but ignorance, delirium, or knavery can dictate, to lead men blindfold whither it pleased, till it set them down at the foot of an altar, where *transubstantiation* itself is consecrated.

§ 1. 8. I know not where I can more properly introduce another part of the *Colonel's* character, which, obnoxious as it was, I have not yet touched upon ; I mean, *his tenderness* to those who were under any *spiritual distress* ; wherein he was indeed *an example to ministers*, in a duty more peculiarly theirs. I have seen many amiable instances of this myself ; and I have been informed of many others : One of which happened about the time of that *awakening* in the western parts of *Scotland*, which I touched upon above ; when the reverend *Mr Mac-Laurin* of *Glasgow* found occasion to witness to the great propriety,

propriety, judgment, and felicity of manner, with which he addressed spiritual consolation to an afflicted soul, who applied to *the professor*, at a time when he had not an opportunity immediately to give audience to the case. And indeed as long ago as the year 1726, I find him writing to a friend in a strain of *tendernefs* in this regard, which might well have become the most affectionate and experienced pastor. He there congratulates him on some *religious enjoyments* lately received, (in part, it seems, by his means,) when among others he has this modest expression: 'If I have been made any way the means of doing you good; give the whole glory to GOD; for he has been willing to shew, that *the power* was entirely *of himself*, since he has been pleased to make use of *so very weak an instrument*.' In the same *letter* he admonishes his friend, that he should not be too much surprized, if after having been (as he expresses it,) *upon the mount*, he should be brought *into the valley* again; and reminds him that 'we live by faith, and not by sensible assurance;' representing, that there are some such full communications from GOD as seem almost to swallow up the actings of faith, from whence they take their rise: 'Whereas when a Christian who *walks in darkness, and sees no light*, will yet hang (as it were) on the report of 'an absent JESUS, and,' as one expresses it in al-

lusion to the story of *Jacob and Joseph*, 'can put himself as on *the chariot* of the promises, to be borne on to him, *whom he now sees not*; there may be sublimer and more acceptable actings of a pure and strong faith, than in moments which afford the soul a much more rapturous delight. This is the substance of what he says in the excellent *letter*. Some of the phrases made use of might not perhaps be intelligible to several of my readers, for which reason I do not exactly transcribe them all: But this is plainly and fully his meaning, and most of the words are his own. The sentiment is surely very just and important; and happy would it be for many excellent persons, who through wrong notions of the nature of *faith* (which was never more misrepresented than now among some,) are perplexing themselves with most groundless doubts and scruples, if it were more generally understood, admitted and considered.

§ 139. An endeared friend who was most intimately conversant with the *Colonel* during the two last years of his life, has favoured me with an account of some little circumstances relating to him; which I esteem as precious fragments, by which the consistent tenor of his character may be farther illustrated. I shall therefore insert them here, without being very solicitous

tous as to the order in which they are introduced:

§ 140. He perceived himself evidently in a very declining state from his first arrival in *Britain*, and seemed to entertain a fixed apprehension, that he should continue but a little while longer in life. 'He expected death,' says my 'good correspondent, 'and was delighted with 'the prospect, which did not grow less amiable 'by a nearer approach.' The word of *G O D*, with which he had as intimate an acquaintance as most men I ever knew, and on which (especially on the *New Testament*,) I have heard him make many very judicious and accurate remarks, was still *his daily study*; and it furnished him matter of *frequent conversation*, much to the edification and comfort of those that were about him. It was recollected, that among other passages he had lately spoken of the following, as having made a deep impression on his mind: *My soul, wait thou only upon G O D!* He would repeat it again and again, *Only Only, Only!* So plainly did he see, and so deeply did he feel, the vanity of creature-confidences and expectations. With the strongest attestations would he often mention those words in *Isaiab*, as verified by long experience: *Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee: because he trusteth in thee.* And with peculiar satisfaction

would he utter these heroic words in *Habakkuk*, which he found armour of proof against every fear and every contingency: 'Though the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flocks shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls: Yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the GOD of my salvation.' The *cxlvth psalm* was also spoken of by him with great delight, and *Dr. Watts's* version of it; as well as several other of that excellent person's poetical compositions. My friend who transmits to me this account, adds the following words; which I desire to insert with the deepest sentiments of unfeigned humility and self-abasement before GOD, as most unworthy the honour of contributing in the least degree to the joys and graces of one so much my superior in every part of the Christian character. 'As the joy with which good men see the happy fruits of their labours, makes a part of the *present reward* of the servants of GOD and the friends of JESUS, it must not be omitted, even in a *letter to you*, that your *spiritual hymns* were among his most delightful and soul-improving repasts; particularly those, on *beholding transgressors with grief*, and *CHRIST's message*.' What is added concern-
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ing my book of *the Rise and progress of religion*, and the terms in which he expressed his esteem of it, I cannot suffer to pass my pen; only desire most sincerely to bless GOD, that especially by the *last chapters* of that treatise, I had an opportunity at so great a distance of exhibiting some offices of Christian friendship to this excellent person, in the closing scenes of life; which it would have been my greatest joy to have performed in person, had Providence permitted me then to have been near him.

§ 141. The former of those *hymns* my correspondent mentions, as having been so agreeable to *Colonel Gardiner*, I have given the reader above, at the end of *Seet. 101*. The latter, which is called *CHRIST'S message*, took its rise from *Luke iv. 18. & seq.* and is as follows:

I.
Hark! the glad sound! The Saviour comes,
The Saviour promis'd long!
Let ev'ry heart prepare a throne,
And ev'ry voice a song.

II.
On him the Spirit largely pour'd
Exerts its sacred fire:
Wisdom and might, and zeal, and love,
His holy breath inspire,

III.

III.

He comes the prisoners to release

In Satan's bondage held :

The gates of brass before him burst,

The iron fetters yield.

IV.

He comes, from thickest films of vice

To clear the mental ray,

And on the eye-balls of the blind

To pour celestial day *.

V.

He comes, the broken heart to bind,

The bleeding soul to cure ;

And with the treasures of his grace

T' enrich the humble poor.

VI.

His silver trumpets publish loud

The *Jubilee* of the Lord ;

Our debts are all remitted now,

Our heritage restor'd.

VII.

Our glad *hosannas*, Prince of Peace,

Thy welcome shall proclaim ;

And heaven's eternal arches ring

With thy beloved name.

§ 142. There is one *hymn* more I shall beg
leave

* This *stanza* is mostly borrowed from *Mr. Pope*.

leave to add, plain as it is, which *Colonel Gardiner* has been heard to mention with particular regard, as expressing the inmost sentiments of his soul; and they were undoubtedly so, in the last rational moments of his expiring life. It is called, *CHRIST precious to the believer*; and was composed to be sung after a sermon on 1 *Pet.* ii. 7.

I.

JESUS! I love thy charming name,

'Tis music to my ear:

Fain would I sound it out so loud,

That earth and heaven should hear.

II.

Yes, thou art precious to my soul,

My transport, and my trust:

Jewels to thee are gaudy toys,

And gold is sordid dust.

III.

All my capacious pow'rs can wish,

In thee most richly meet:

Nor to my eyes is life so dear,

Nor friendship half so sweet.

IV.

All my capacious pow'rs can wish,

In thee most richly meet:

Nor to my eyes is life so dear,

Nor friendship half so sweet.

V.

V.

Thy grace still dwells upon my heart,

And sheds its fragrance there ;

The noblest balm of all its wounds,

The cordial of its care.

VI.

I'll speak the honours of thy name

With my last lab'ring breath ;

Then speechless clasp thee in my arms,

The antidote of death.

§ 143. Those who were intimate with *Colonel Gardiner* must have observed how ready he was to give a *devotional turn* to any subject that occurred. And in particular, the spiritual and heavenly disposition of his soul discovered itself in the reflections and improvements which he made, when *reading history*, in which he took a great deal of pleasure, as persons remarkable for their knowledge of mankind, and observation of providence, generally do. I have an instance of this before me, which, though too natural to be at all surprising, will I dare say be pleasing to the devout mind. He had been just reading in *Rollin's extract from Xenophon*, the answer which the *Lady of Tigranes* made, when all the company were extolling *Cyrus*, and expressing the admiration with which his appearance and behaviour struck them : The question being

being asked her, What she thought of him? she answered, *I don't know, I did not observe him.* On what then, said one of the company, did you fix your attention? 'On him,' replied she, (referring to the generous speech which her husband had just made,) 'who said he would 'give a thousand lives to ransom my liberty.' 'Oh,' cried the *Colonel*, when reading it, 'how 'ought we to fix our eyes and hearts on *Him*, 'who not in offer, but in reality, *gave his own 'precious life to ransom us from the most dread- 'ful slavery, and from eternal destruction!*' But this is only one instance among a thousand. His heart was so habitually set upon divine things, and he had such a permanent and overflowing sense of the love of CHRIST, that he could not forbear connecting such reflections, with a multitude of more distant occasions occurring in daily life, where less advanced Christians would not have thought of them: And thus, like our Great Master, he made *every little incident* a source of devotion, and an instrument of holy zeal.

§ 144. Enfeebled as his constitution was, he was still intent on *improving his time* to some valuable purposes: And when his friends expostulated with him, that he gave his body *so little rest*, he used to answer, 'It will rest long enough in the grave.'

§ 145. The *July* before his death, he was persuaded to take a journey to *Scarborough* for the recovery of his health; from which he was at least encouraged to expect some little revival. After this he had thoughts of going to *London*, and designed to have spent part of *September* at *Northampton*. The expectation of this was mutually agreeable; but Providence saw fit to disconcert the scheme. His love for his friends in these parts occasioned him to express some regret on his being commanded back: And I am pretty confident from the manner in which he expressed himself in one of his *last letters* to me, that he had some more important reasons for wishing an opportunity of making a *London journey* just at that crisis; which, the reader will remember, was before *the rebellion* broke out. But as Providence determined it otherwise, he acquiesced; and I am well satisfied, that could he have distinctly foreseen the approaching event, so far as it concerned his own person, he would have esteemed it the happiest summons he ever received. While he was at *Scarborough*, I find by a *letter* dated from thence *July 26, 1745*, that he had been informed of the gaiety which so unseasonably prevailed at *Edinburgh*, where great multitudes were then spending their time in *balls, assemblies*, and other gay amusements, little mindful of the rod of

God

GOD which was then hanging over them ; on which occasion he hath this expression : ' I am ' greatly surprized, that the people of *Edinburgh* ' should be employed in such *foolish diversions* ' when our situation is at present more melan- ' choly than ever I saw it in my life. But there ' is one thing which I am very sure of, that com- ' forts me, viz. that it shall *go well with the right- ' teous*, come what will.'

§ 146. Quickly after his *return home*, the flame burst out, and his regiment was ordered to *Stirling*. It was in the castle there, that *his lady* and *eldest daughter* enjoyed the last happy hours of his company ; and I think, it was about eight or ten days before his death, that he parted from them there. A remarkable circumstance attended *that parting*, which hath been touched upon by surviving friends in more than one of their *letters* to me. His *Lady* was so affected when she took her last leave of him, that she could not forbear bursting out into a flood of tears, with other marks of unusual emotion. And when he asked her the reason, she urged the apprehension she had of losing such an invaluable friend, amidst the dangers to which he was then called out, as a very sufficient apology. Upon which she took particular notice, that whereas he had generally comforted her on such occasions, by pleading with her that remarkable hand

hand of providence which had so frequently in former instances been exerted for his preservation, and that in the greatest extremity, he said nothing of it now; but only replied, in his sententious manner, 'We have an eternity to spend together.'

§ 147. That heroic *contempt of death*, which had often discovered itself in the midst of former dangers, was manifested now in his discourse with several of his most intimate friends. I have reserved for this place one genuine expression of it many years before, which I thought might be mentioned with some advantage here. In *July*, 1720, he had been sent to some place, not far from *Hamilton*, to quell a *mutiny* among some of our troops. I know not the particular occasion; but I remember to have heard him mention it as so fierce a one, that he scarce ever apprehended himself in a more hazardous circumstance. Yet he quelled it by his presence alone, and the expostulations he used; evidently *putting his life into his hand* to do it. The particulars of the story struck me much; but I do not so exactly remember them, as to venture to relate them here. I only observe, that in a *letter* dated *July* 16, that year, which I have now before me, and which evidently refers to this event, he writes thus: 'I have been very busy, hurried about from place to place; but, blessed be
God,

‘GOD, all is over without bloodshed. And
 ‘pray let me ask, What made you shew so much
 ‘concern *for me* in your last? Were you afraid
 ‘I should get to heaven before you? Or can
 ‘any evil befall those who are *followers of that*
 ‘*which is good*?’

§ 148. And as these were his sentiments
 in the vigour of his days, so neither did declin-
 ing years and the infirmities of a broken con-
 stitution on the one hand, nor any desires of en-
 joying the honours and profits of so high a
 station, or (what was much more to him,) the
 converse of the most affectionate of wives and so
 many amiable children and friends on the other,
 enervate his spirits in the least: But as he had
 in

* I doubt not, but this will remind some of my
 readers of that noble speech of *Zuinglius*, when (ac-
 cording to the usage of that country,) attending
 his flock to a battle in which their religion and li-
 berties were all at stake, on his receiving a mortal
 wound by a bullet, of which he soon expired, while
 his friends were in all the first astonishment of grief
 he bravely said as he was dying, ‘*Ecquid hoc infor-*
tunii? Is this to be reckoned a misfortune?’ How
 many of our *Deists* would have celebrated such a
 sentence, if it had come from the lips of an *ancient*
Roman? Strange, that the name of CHRIST should
 be so odious, that the brightest virtues of his follo-
 wers should be despised for his sake! but so it is;
 and so our Master told us, it would be: And our
 faith is in this connection confirmed by those that
 strive most to overthrow it.

in former years often expressed it, to me and several others, as his desire, 'that if it were the will of God, he might have some honourable call to *sacrifice his life* in defence of religion and the liberties of his country; 'so when it appeared to him most probable that he might be called to it immediately, he met the summons with the greatest readiness. This appears in part from a *letter* which he wrote to the Reverend Mr Adams of Falkirk, just as he was on marching from Stirling, which was only eight days before his death: 'The rebels,' says he, 'are advancing to cross the Firth; but I trust in the Almighty God, who doth whatsoever he pleases, in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth.' And the same gentleman tells me, that a few days after the date of this, he marched through Falkirk with his regiment; and though he was then in so languishing a state, that he needed his assistance as a *secretary* to write for some reinforcement, which might put it in his power to make a stand, (as he was very desirous to have done,) he expressed a most genuine and noble contempt of life, when to be exposed in the defence of a worthy cause.

§ 140. These sentiments wrought in him to the last, in the most effectual manner; and he seemed for a while to have infused them in

to the *regiment* which he commanded: For they expressed such a spirit in their march from *Stirling*, that I am assured the *Colonel* was obliged to exert all his authority to prevent their making incursions on the *rebel army*, which then lay very near them; and had it been thought proper to send him the reinforcement he requested, none can say what the consequence might have been: But he was ordered to march as fast as possible, to meet *Sir John Cope's* forces at *Dunbar*; which he did: And that *hasty retreat*, in concurrence with the news which they soon after received of the surrender of *Edinburgh* to the *Rebels*, (either by the treachery or weakness of a few, in opposition to the judgment of by far the greater and better part of the inhabitants,) struck a panic into both the regiments of *Draagoons*, which became visible in some very apparent and remarkable circumstances in their behaviour, which I forbear to relate. This affected *Colonel Gardiner* so much, that on the *Thursday* before the fatal action at *Preston Pans*, he intimated to an *officer* of considerable rank and note, (from whom I had it by a very sure channel of conveyance,) that he expected the event would be, as in fact it was. In this view, there is all imaginable reason to believe he had formed his resolution as to his own personal conduct, which was, 'that he would not, in case of the flight of those un-

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‘der his command, retreat with them;’ by which, as it seemed, he was reasonably apprehensive, he might have *stained the honour* of his former services, and have given some *occasion for the enemy to have spoken reproachfully*. He much rather chose, if Providence gave him the call, to leave in his death an example of fidelity and bravery, which might very probably be (as in fact it seems indeed to have been,) of much greater importance to his country, than any other service, which in the few days of remaining life he could expect to render it. I conclude these to have been his views, not only from what I knew of his general character and temper, but likewise from some intimations which he gave to a very worthy person from *Edinburgh*, who visited him the day before the action; to whom he said, ‘I cannot influence the conduct of others, as I could wish, but I have *one life* to sacrifice to my country’s safety, and I shall not spare it;’ or words to that effect.

§ 150. I have heard such a multitude of inconsistent reports of the circumstances of *Colonel Gardiner’s* death, that I had almost despaired of being able to give my reader any particular satisfaction concerning so interesting a scene. But by a happy accident I have very lately had an opportunity of being exactly informed of the whole, by that brave man *Mr John Foster*, his
faithful

faithful servant, (and worthy of the honour of serving such a master,) whom I had seen with him at my house some years before. He attended him in his last hours, and gave me the narration at large; which he would be ready, if it were requisite, to attest upon oath. From his mouth I wrote it down with the utmost exactness, and could easily believe from the genuine and affectionate manner in which he related the particulars, that according to his own striking expression, 'his eye and his heart were always upon his honoured master during the whole time †.'

§ 151. On Friday, September 20, (the day before the battle which transmitted him to his immortal crown,) when the whole army was drawn up, I think about noon, the *Colonel* rode through all the ranks of his own regiment, addressing them at once in the most respectful and
 I animating

† Just as I am putting the last hand to these memoirs, March 2, 1746-7, I have met with a corporal in *Colonel Lascelles's* regiment, who was also an eye-witness to what happened at *Preston-Pans* on the day of the battle, and the day before: And the account he has given me of some memorable particulars is so exactly agreeable to that which I received from Mr *Foster*, that it would much corroborate his testimony, if there were not so many other considerations to render it convincing.

animating manner, both as soldiers, and as Christians. to engage them to exert themselves courageously in the service of their country, and to neglect nothing that might have a tendency to prepare them for whatever event might happen. They seemed much affected with the address, and expressed a very ardent desire of *attacking the enemy immediately* : A desire, in which he and another very gallant *officer* of distinguished rank, dignity, and character, both for bravery and conduct, would gladly have gratified them, if it had been in the power of either. He earnestly pressed it on the *Commanding officer*, both as the soldiers were then in better spirits than it could be supposed they would be after having passed the night under arms ; and also as the circumstance of making an attack would be some encouragement to them, and probably some terror to the enemy, who would have had the disadvantage of standing on the defence: A disadvantage, with which those *wild barbarians* (for such most of them were) perhaps would have been more struck than better disciplined troops ; especially, when they fought against the laws of their country too. He also apprehended, that by marching to meet them, some advantage might have been secured with regard to the ground ; with which, it is natural to imagine, he must have been perfectly acquainted, as it lay

lay just at his own door, and he had rode over it so many hundred times. When I mention these things, I do not pretend to be capable of judging how far this advice was on the whole *right*. A variety of circumstances, to me unknown, might make it otherwise. It is certain, however, that it was *brave*. But it was over-ruled in this respect, as it also was in the disposition of the *cannon*, which he would have had planted in the center of our small army, rather than just before his regiment, which was in the right wing; where he was apprehensive, that the horses, which had not been in any engagement before, might be thrown into some disorder by the discharge so very near them. He urged this the more, as he thought the attack of the *Rebels* might probably be made on the center of the *foot*; where he knew there were some brave men, on whose standing he thought under God the success of the day depended. When he found, that he could not carry either of these points, nor some others, which out of regard to the common safety he insisted upon with some unusual earnestness, he dropped some intimations of the consequences which he apprehended, and which did in fact follow; and submitting to Providence, spent the remainder of the day in

making as good a disposition as circumstances would allow *.

§ 152. He continued all night under arms, wrapped up in his cloak, and generally sheltered under a rick of barley which happened to be in the field. About three in the morning, he called his domestic servants to him, of which there were four in waiting. He dismissed three of them, with most affectionate Christian advice, and such solemn charges relating to the performance of their duty and the care of their souls, as seemed plainly to intimate, that he apprehended it at least very probable he was taking his last farewell of them. There is great reason to believe, that he spent the little remainder of the time, which could not be much above

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* Several of these circumstances have since been confirmed by the concurrent testimony of another very credible person, *Mr Robert Douglas*, (now a surgeon in the navy,) who was a volunteer at *Edinburgh* just before the *Rebels* entered the place; who saw *Colonel Gardiner* come from *Haddington* to the field of battle the day before the action in a chaise, being (as from that circumstance he supposed,) in so weak a state that he could not well endure the fatigue of riding on horseback. He observed *Colonel Gardiner* in discourse with several officers, the evening before the engagement; at which time, it was afterwards reported, he gave his advice to attack the *Rebels*; and when it was over-ruled, he afterwards saw the *Colonel* walk by himself in a very pensive manner.

an hour, in those devout exercises of soul, which had so long been habitual to him, and to which so many circumstances did then concur to call him. The army was alarmed by break of day, by the noise of the *Rebels* approach, and the attack was made before sun-rise, yet when it was light enough to discern what passed. As soon as the enemy came within gun-shot they made a furious fire; and it is said that the *dragoons* which constituted the left wing, immediately fled. The *Colonel* at the beginning of the onset, which in the whole lasted but a few minutes, received a wound by a bullet in his left breast, which made him give a sudden spring in his saddle; upon which his servant, who had lead the horse, would have perswaded him to retreat: But he said it was only a wound in the flesh; and fought on, though he presently after received a shot in his right thigh. In the mean time it was discerned, that some of the enemies fell by him; and particularly one man, who had made him a treacherous visit but a few days before, with great professions of zeal for the present establishment.

§ 153. Events of this kind pass in less time than the description of them can be written or than it can be read. The *Colonel* was for a few moments supported by his men, and particularly by that worthy person *Lieutenant Colonel*

nel Whitney, who was shot thro' the arm here, and a few months after fell nobly in the battle of *Falkirk*; and by *Lieutenant West*, a man of distinguished bravery; as also by about fifteen *dragoons*, who stood by him to the last. But after a faint fire, the regiment in general was seized with a panic; and though their *Colonel* and some other gallant *officers*, did what they could to rally them once or twice, they at last took a precipitate flight. And just in the moment when *Colonel Gardiner* seemed to be making a pause, to deliberate what duty required him to do in such a circumstance, an accident happened, which must, I think, in the judgment of every worthy and generous man, be allowed a sufficient apology for exposing his life to so great hazard, when his regiment had left him *. He saw a party of *the foot*, who were then bravely

* The *Colonel*, who was well acquainted with military history, might possibly remember, that in the battle at *Blenheim*, the illustrious *Prince Eugene*, when the horse of the wing he commanded had run away thrice, charged at the head of *the foot*, and thereby greatly contributed to the glorious success of the day. At least such an example may conduce to vindicate that *noble ardour*, which, amidst all the applauses of his country, some have been so cool and so critical as to blame. For my own part, I thank God, that I am not called to apologize for his following his troops in their *flight*; which I fear would have been a much harder task; and which

ly fighting near him, and whom he was ordered to support, had *no officer* to head them; upon which he said eagerly, 'in the hearing of the person from whom I had this account, 'Those brave fellows would be cut to pieces for want of a commander;' or words to that effect: Which while he was speaking, he rode up to them, and cried out aloud, 'Fire on, my lads, and fear nothing.' But just as the words were out of his mouth, an *highlander* advanced towards him with a scythe fastened to a long pole, with which he gave him such a deep wound on his right arm, that his sword dropped out of his hand; and at the same time several others coming about him, while he was thus dreadfully intangled with that cruel weapon, he was dragged off from his horse. The moment he fell, another *highlander*, who, if the king's evidence at *Carlisle* may be credited, (as I know not why they should not, tho' the unhappy creature died denying it,) was one *Mac-Nought*, who was executed about a year after, gave him a stroke, either with a broad sword, or a *Lochar-axe*, (for my informant could not exactly distinguish,)

which, dear as he was to me, would have grieved me much more than his death, with these heroic circumstances attending it.

distinguish,) on the hinder part of his head, which was the mortal blow. All that his faithful attendant saw farther at this time was, that as his hat was fallen off, he took it in his left hand, and waved it as a signal to him to retreat; and added, what were the last words he ever heard him speak, 'Take care of yourself.' Upon which the servant retired.

§ 154. It was reported at *Edinburgh* on the day of the battle, by what seemed a considerable authority, that as the *Colonel* lay in his wounds, he said to a chief of the opposite side, 'You are fighting for an earthly crown, I am going to receive an heavenly one;' or something to that purpose. When I preached the *sermon*, long since printed, on occasion of his death, I had great reason to believe this report was true; though before the publication of it I began to be in doubt: And on the whole, after the most accurate inquiry I could possibly make at this distance, I cannot get any convincing evidence of it. Yet I must here observe, that it does not appear impossible, that something of this kind might indeed be uttered by him; as his servant testifies, that he spoke to him after receiving that fatal blow, which would seem most likely to have taken away the power of speech; and as it is certain, he lived several hours after he fell. If therefore any thing of this kind did happen,
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it must have been just about this instant. But as the story of his being *taken prisoner*, and carried to the *pretended Prince*, (who by the way afterwards rode his horse, and entered upon it into *Derby*,) with several other circumstances which were grafted upon interview, there is the most undoubted evidence of its falsehood: For his attendant mentioned above assures me, that he himself immediately fled to a mill, at the distance of about two miles from the spot of ground on which the *Colonel* fell; where he changed his dress, and, disguised like a miller's servant, returned with a cart as soon as possible; which yet was not till near two hours after the engagement. The hurry of the action was then pretty well over, and he found his much-honoured master, not only plundered of his watch and other things of value, but also stripped of his upper garments and boots; yet still breathing: And adds, that though he were not capable of speech, yet on taking him up he opened his eyes; which makes it something questionable, whether he were altogether insensible. In this condition, and in this manner, he conveyed him to the church of *Tranent*, from whence he was immediately taken into the minister's house, and laid in bed; where he continued breathing and frequently groaning, 'till about eleven in the forenoon; when he took his final leave

of pain and sorrow, and undoubtedly rose to those distinguished glories, which are reserved for those who have been so eminently and remarkably *faithful unto death*.

§ 155. From the moment in which he fell, it was no longer a battle, but a rout and carnage. The cruelties, which the *Rebels* (as it is generally said, under the command of *Lord Elcho*) inflicted on some of the king's troops after they ask'd quarter, are dreadfully legible on the countenances of many who survived it. They entered *Colonel Gardiner's* house, before he was carried off from the field; and notwithstanding the strict orders which the unhappy *Duke of Perth* (whose conduct is said to have been very humane in many instances,) gave to the contrary, every thing of value was plundered, to the very curtains of the beds, and hangings of the rooms. His papers were all thrown into the wildest disorder, and his house made an hospital, for the reception of those who were wounded in the action.

§ 156. Such was the close of a life, which had been so zealously devoted to GOD, and filled up with so many honourable services. This was the death of him, who had been so highly favoured by GOD, in the method by which he was brought back to him after so long and so great an estrangement, and in the progress of so
many

many years, during which (in the expressive phrase of the most ancient of writers,) *he had walked with him*;—to fall as God threatned the people of his wrath that they should do, *with tumult, with shouting, and with the sound of the trumpet*, (*Amos ii. 2.*) Several other very worthy, and some of them eminent persons, shared the same fate; either now in the battle of *Preston-Pans*, or quickly after in that of *Falkirk* *: Providence, no doubt, permitting it, to establish our faith in the rewards of an invisible world; as well as to teach us, to *cease from man*, and fix our dependance on an almighty arm.

§ 157. The remains of this *Christian hero*,

I. 6

(as

* Of these none were more memorable than those illustrious brothers *Sir Robert Munro* and *Doctor Munro*; whose tragical but glorious fate was also shared quickly after by a third hero of the family, *Captain Munro of Culcairn*, brother to *Sir Robert* and the *Doctor*. I thought of adding some account of these martyrs in the cause of liberty and religion, in this place; but having had the pleasure of receiving from some very credible and worthy persons, to whom they were well known, a larger account of them and their family, than can conveniently be comprehended in a note, I chuse to make it a distinct article in the *Appendix, Number III.* by which I question not but I shall oblige every intelligent and generous reader; and I think myself very happy to have it in my power to do it.

(as I believe every reader is now convinced he may justly be called,) were interred the *Tuesday* following, *Sep.* 24, at the parish church at *Tra-*
nant; where he had usually attended divine service with great solemnity. His obsequies were honoured with the presence of some persons of distinction, who were not afraid of paying that last piece of respect to his memory, though the country was then in the hands of the enemy. But indeed there was no great hazard in this; for his character was so well known, that even they themselves spoke honourably of him, and seemed to join with his friends in lamenting the fall of so brave and so worthy a man.

§ 158. The remotest posterity will remember, for whom the honour of subduing this unnatural and pernicious *rebellion* was reserved; and it will endear the person of the illustrious DUKE of CUMBERLAND, to all but the open, or secret abettors of it in the present age, and consecrate his name to immortal honours among all the friends of religion and liberty who shall arise after us. And I dare say, it will not be imagined, that I at all derogate from his glory, in suggesting, That the memory of that valiant and excellent person whose memoirs I am now concluding, may in some measure have contributed to that signal and complete *victory* with
which

which GOD was pleased to crown the arms of his *Royal Highness*: For the force of such an example is very animating, and a painful consciousness of having deserted such a commander in such extremity, must at least awaken, where there was any spark of generosity, an earnest desire to *avenge his death* on those who had sacrificed his blood, and that of so many other excellent persons, to the views to their ambition, rapine, or bigotry.

§ 159. The reflections I have made in my *funeral sermon*, on my honoured friend, and in the *dedication* of it to his worthy and most afflicted *Lady*, supersede many things which might otherwise have properly been added here. I conclude therefore, with humbly acknowledging the wisdom and goodness of that awful providence, which drew so thick a gloom around him in the last hours of his life, that the lustre of his virtues might dart through it with a more vivid and observable ray. It is abundant matter of *thankfulness*, that so signal a monument of grace, and ornament of the Christian profession, was raised in our age and country, and spared for so many honourable and useful years. Nor can all the tenderness of the most affectionate friendship, while its sorrows bleed afresh in the view of so tragical a scene, prevent my adoring the gracious appointment of the great Lord of all

all events, that when the day in which he must have *expired without an enemy* appeared so very near, the last ebb of his generous blood should be poured out, as a kind of *sacred libation*, to the liberties of his country, and the honour of his **GOD!** that all the other virtues of his character, embalmed as it were by that precious stream, might diffuse around a more extensive fragrancy, and be transmitted to the most remote posterity, with that peculiar charm, which they cannot but derive from their connection with *so gallant a fall*: An event (as that blessed *apostle*, of whose spirit he so deeply drank, has expressed it,) ‘ac-
‘cording to his earnest expectation, and his
‘hope, that in him **CHRIST** might be glorified
‘in all things, whether by his life, or by his
‘death.’

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

Number I.

Relating to the COLONEL'S *Person*.

IN the midst of so many more important articles, I had really forgot to say any thing of the *person of Colonel Gardiner*, of which nevertheless it may be proper here to add a word or two. It was, as I am informed, in younger life remarkably graceful and amiable; and I can easily believe it, from what I knew him to be, when our acquaintance began; though he was then *turned of fifty*, and had gone through so many fatigues as well as dangers, which could not but leave some traces on his countenance. He was tall, (I suppose, something more than six feet,) well proportioned, and strongly built: His eyes of a dark grey, and not very large; his forehead pretty high; his nose of a length and height no way remarkable, but very well suited to his other features; his cheeks not very prominent.

ment, his mouth moderately large, and his chin rather a little inclining (when I knew him) to be peaked. He had a strong voice, and lively accent; with an air very intrepid, yet tempered with much gentleness: And there was something in his manner of address more perfectly easy and obliging, which was in a great measure the result of the great candor and benevolence of his natural temper; and which, no doubt, was much improved by the deep humility which divine grace had wrought into his heart; as well as his having been accustomed from his early youth, to the company of persons of distinguished rank and polite behaviour.

Number II.



Number II.

POETICAL PIECES on the Death of Colonel GAR- DINER.

SO animating a subject as the death of such a man, in such circumstances, has occasioned a great deal of *poetry*. Some of this has already been published; especially one large composition, said to be done by a worthy *clergyman* in *Lincolnsbire*, in which there are many excellent lines and noble sentiments: But I rather chuse to refer to the piece itself, than to insert any extracts from it here. It may be more expedient to oblige my reader with the following *copy of verses*, and an *Elegiac poem*, composed by two of my valuable friends whose names are annexed. I could not presume to attempt any thing of this kind myself; because I knew, that nothing I was capable of writing could properly express my sense of his worth, or describe the tenderness

tenderness of my friendship; the sentiments of which will, (as I assuredly believe,) mingle themselves with the last ideas which pass through my mind in this world, and perhaps with some of the first which may open upon it in that which is to come.

VERSES on the Death of Col. GARDINER.

By the Rev. Mr. *Benjamin Sowden.*

*Quis Desiderio sit Pudor, aut Modus,
Tam chari Capitis?* HOR.

COULD Piety perpetuate human breath,
Or shield one mortal from the shafts of
Death,

Thou ne'er, illustrious man! thou ne'er hadst
been

A palid corpse on *Preston's* fatal plain.

Or could her hand, though impotent to save
Consummate worth, redeem it from the grave,
Soon would thy urn resign its sacred trust,
And recent life re-animate thy dust.

But vain the wish.—The savage hand of War—
Oh how shall words the mournful tale declare!

Too

Too soon the news afflicted friendship hears,
Too soon, alas! confirm'd her boding fears.

Struck with the sound, unconscious of redress,
She felt thy wounds, and wept severe distress.
A while dissolv'd in truceless grief she lay,
Which left thee to relentless rage a prey.

At length kind Fame suspends our heaving
sighs,

And wipes the sorrows from our flowing eyes;
Gives us to know, thine exit well supply'd
Those blooming laurels Victory deny'd.
When thy great soul suppress'd each timid moan,
And soar'd triumphant in a dying groan,
Thy fall, which rais'd, now calms each wild
complaint,

Thy fall, which join'd the *hero* to the *saint*.

As o'er th' expiring lamp the quiv'ring flame
Collects its lustre in a brighter gleam,
Thy virtues, glimm'ring on the verge of night,
Thro' the dim shade diffus'd celestial light;
A radiance, death or time can ne'er destroy,
Th' auspicious omen of eternal joy.

Hence ev'ry unavailing grief! No more
As hapless thy removal we deplore.
Thy gushing veins, in every drop they bleed,
Of patriot warriors shed the fruitless seed.
Soon shall the ripen'd harvest rise in arms
To crush Rebellion's insolent alarms.

While

While prosp'rous moments sooth'd thro' life
 his way,
 Conceal'd from public view the hero lay :
 But when affliction clouded his decline,
 It not eclips'd, but made his honours shine ;
 Gave them to beam conspicuous from the gloom,
 And plant unfading trophies round his tomb.

So stars are lost, amidst the blaze of day ;
 But when the sun withdraws his golden ray,
 Refulgent thro' th' etherial arch they roll,
 And gild the wide expanse from pole to pole.



An

The

In c

An ELEGY on the Death of the truly
pious, and brave Col. JAMES GAR-
DINER, who was slain by the Rebel-
Forces Sept. 21, 1745, in the fatal
Action at Preston-Pans.

By the Rev. Mr. Thomas Gibbons.

*Nam, dum duelli latior, hostica
Opprobriorum murmura vindice
Excusat ense, barbararum
Immortuus aggeribus cohortum;
Præfecta tandem colla volubili
Lapsu reclinat. Sed famula prope
Decusque, præsignisque virtus,
Semianimem subiere dextra;
Mox, expeditis corpore manibus,
Depræliatrix gloria siderum
Occurrit, et fulvo reclinem
Ire jubet super astra curru.*

Casimir.

I.

COME, MELANCHOLY, from the stony
cave
The scoop of TIME for thee has made
Under the broad cliff's shade,
Upon the naked shore,
Where warring tempests roar
In concert with the hoarse-resounding wave :
Come,

Come, but with solemn gate,
 With trickling eyes,
 And heavy sigh,
 And all the 'scutcheon'd pomp of fate ;
 And bring with thee the cypress, and the yew,
 All bath'd and dropping with the mortal dew,
 To this sequester'd bow'r ;
 And let the midnight hour
 Be hung in deeper glooms by thee,
 And bid each gay idea flee :
 While all the baleful images of woe,
 That haunt the marble bust,
 Or hover round sepulcher'd dust,
 With conscious horrors all my soul o'erflow.
 For 'tis no vulgar death
 URANIA means to mourn ;
 But in a doleful strain
 She bids the harp complain,
 And hangs the fun'ral wreath
 On GARD'NER's awful urn.

II.

GARD'NER, what various fame
 For ever crowns thy name ?
 Nor is it possible to say,
 Or if the saint's, or hero's ray
 Shone brightest in that blended blaze,
 That form'd thine ample round of praise.
 Like

Like *Moses* on the sacred hill,
 How hast thou stood with pleading eyes,
 Outstretching hands, and fervent cries,
 Unwearied wrestler with the skies !
 Till heav'n, reponsive to thy will,
 Would all thy largest wishes fill ;
 Till the high-brandish'd bolt aside was thrown,
 And the full blessing stream'd in silver murmurs
 down.

Nor less a *Josbua*, than a *Moses*, thou ;
 For oft in LIBERTY's high strife
 Hast thou expos'd thy gen'rous life,
 And with impatient ardors on thy brow,
 Rush'd foremost in the horrid van of fight,
 Driving the troops of TYRANNY to flight,
 Unshaken in the noble cause
 To pluck her bloody fangs, and break her iron jaws.

III.

When ANNA sent her chosen chief,
 Victorious MARLBOROUGH,
 To EUROPE's groans to give relief
 In BOURBON's overthrow ;
 Renown'd RAMILIA's tented field,
 Where GALLIA dropt her idle shield,
 And to the BRITISH standard kneel'd,
 Beheld young GARD'NER, there.
 Young GARD'NER, where the combat mow'd
 The falling ranks, and widely strow'd
 Destruction and despair,

Weilded

Weilded serene his youthful arms,
 And, kindling at the dire alarms,
 Enjoy'd the raging war :
 But here, (for steel and flying shot
 Fall chiefly to the hero's lot,)
 Swift thro' his lips the glancing bullet rung,
 His lips, on which th'unfinish'd oath was hung;
 Nor stopt its wing'd impetuous force,
 Till through the neck it plough'd its angry
 course.
 Amazing thought! that they who life expose,
 Where all the thunder of the battle glows,
 Who see pale Death triumphant ride
 Upon the crimson's furling tide,
 In blasphemy and proud contempt should rise,
 And hurl their mad defiance to the skies ;
 Whither a moment may convey
 Their souls, dislodging from their quiv'ring
 clay,
 To take their last inexorable doom,
 Big with immortal wrath, and dire despair to
 come.

IV.

Such *Gard'ner* was in early youth ;
 And while the warrior's rays
 Beam'd round his head, celestial *Truth*
 He spurn'd, and scorn'd her ways :
 And, tho' th' Almighty arm was near,
 Made his endanger'd life its care,

And

And heal'd the burning sores ;
 Yet Vice, collecting with his strength,
 Soon, soon bursts out in wilder length,
 And like a torrent roars.
 Now in the wide enchanting bowl
 The hero melts his manly soul ;
 And now he blots the shades of night
 With blacker scenes of lewd delight :
 Anon in sport he lifts his brow to heav'n,
 And swears by the Eternal name ;
 Asks that the bolt may on his head be driv'n,
 And courts the lagging flame.
 So *Pharaoh*, when the sev'rish blains
 No more emboss'd his flesh,
 Nor shot infection through his veins,
 Assum'd his rage a-fresh ;
 And hard, grew harder still,
 And propp'd on his wild will,
 Set up the standard of his pride,
 Curs'd *Isr'el's God* and King, and all his plagues
 defy'd.

V.

But, Muse, in softer notes relate,
 For softer notes upon thee wait,
 How GARD'NER, when his youth had
 rang'd
 These guilty scenes, to heav'n estrang'd,
 Paus'd in his mid-career, and was divinely chang'd.

K

That

And

That GOD, whose piercing radiance darts,
O'er all our ways, and all our hearts,
The bold transgressor from his throne survey'd,

And thus in accents breathing mildness said:
"GO, MERCY, charg'd with my supreme
command,

"Thou, fairest daughter, thron'd at my right
hand,

"Go wing thy downward race,

"And stop that rebel in his furious way;

"His heart shall thy victorious call obey,

"And take the willing stamp of grace:

"For never shall thy call successful prove,

"And thou lament thy baffled aim,

"If thou but dart thy chosen flame,

"Arm'd with the SAVIOUR'S energy of
love."

He spoke; and gave th' Almighty nod,

The sanction of th' eternal God:

At once the joyful news is propagated round,

Loud anthems from the golden roofs rebound,

And Heav'n's high chrystal domes re-murmur
with the sound.

VI.

MERCY obeys; and from the empyrial height

Precipitates her glitt'ring flight;

A Harry

A starry circle sparkl'd round her head,
And a wide rainbow o'er her progress spread.
Muse, sing the wondrous plan,
And sing the wond'rous hour,
In which the SOVE'REIGN POW'R
Th' Almighty work began,
And signaliz'd her arm, and triumph'd o'er the
man.

Bent on adult'rous shame
The sinner she beheld;
His bosom burnt with guilty flame,
And at the future joy in secret raptures swell'd:
Enrag'd he curs'd the lazy moon
In her nocturnal tour,
That thought his bliss would come too soon,
And clogg'd the midnight hour.
'Twas then, when Lust's malignant sway
Had stiff'd Conscience' pang, and smother'd Reason's ray,

That MERCY slept between
Th' adult'rer and his sinful scene;
And painted on his mental sight,
Dress'd round in beams divinely bright,
The SAVIOUR stretch'd upon the tree,
In purple sweets, and dying agony:
(Such was the vision, and the blaze the same,
That SAUL, intent on murders, saw,
When JESUS, speaking from the radiant flame,
O'erwhelm'd his conscious soul with awe.)

Then thus a voice arrests his ear :

“ See, *Gard’ner*, see thy SAVIOUR here !

‘ And was this wood

‘ Ting’d in my blood,

‘ And did I languish in these woes for thee,

‘ And can’st thou plunge these recent wounds
in me !”

O’erpow’r’d with vast surprize,

A prisoner of the skies

The swooning champion falls,

And Fear, that never yet his soul had shook,
Bedews his limbs, glares wild upon his look,
And all his soul appals :

But half the agony was unfulfill’d,

Till MERCY from her crysal urn instill’d

Fierce on his heart three burning drops,

Drops that from *Sinai* came,

From *Sinai*, where th’ Almighty thunderer
forms

His shafted lightnings, and his bolted storms,

And from whose boiling tops

The wild sulphureous surge runs down in liquid
flame.

Stung with th’ unsufferable smart,

That fester’d at his heart,

GARD’NER awakes, and round he throws

His ghastly eyes, and scarce he knows

Or if he lives in nature’s midnight gloom,

Or, clos’d in hell’s unfathomable womb,

Black

Black o'er his head eternal horrors roll,
And the keen gnawing worm devours his inmost
soul.

VII.

But when his wand'ring thoughts had found
Himself a tenant of the ground,
Still, still his conscience felt the flaming wound.
Sudden before his prospect glows
The everlasting gulph of woes ;
From the o'er-hanging brink he seems to
bend,
(The brink that crumbled as he stood,
And nodded o'er the dreadful flood,)
And down in headlong ruin to descend
To the broad burning waves, and plains that
never end. †

He turns; but ah! no friendly hand,
Nor spark of glimm'ring hope, appears,
Amidst the raging torment of his fears ;
But outlaw'd from th' realms of shining bliss,
He thinks he feels the unextinguish'd fires,
A waving waste of blue ascending spires,
And plunges in the bottomless abyfs :
For, oh! his sins in crouding numbers stand,
And each tempts vengeance from the Al-
mighty hand ;

K 3

But

† See *Milton's Paradise Lost*, B. xi. Lin. 416.

But fiercer o'er the rest *Ingratitude* appears,
That scorn'd the SAVIOUR's love, and flaming
horror wears.

But while in sad confusion toss'd,
And tortur'd with despair,
He doom'd his soul for ever lost,
The bright ethereal *fair*
(For 'twas her kind design .
Not to destroy, but to refine,)
Amidst the darkness and the storms
Her sacred embassy performs ;
For Guilt-display'd in all its frightful dyes,
And crimson'd over with redeeming blood,
Draws out the rolling anguish from his eyes,
And all his stubborn soul with low submission
bow'd.

'Tis *done*: O miracle of love!
Not minds below, nor minds above,
Great GOD, can trace thy mystick ways,
And pay the equal note of praise.
'Tis *done*. And now with outstretch'd
wings

Back to the skies the radiant *Pow'r* withdrew,
And, as her mounting path she springs,
'The silver trump of Victory she blows,
In stronger dyes her arch refulgent glows,
And a far-streaming glory tracks th' ethereal
blue.

VIII.

At once abjuring all his sins,
Gard'ner the heav'nly life begins,
And pleads the honours of his God
With irresistible defence
Against the colour'd arts of eloquence,
Though clouded with his Maker's frown, and
crush'd beneath his rod.
But quickly a celestial ray
Shot o'er his soul unclouded day,
And balmy dews, and blooming life were giv'n,
The early antepast of heav'n.
And now what equal words shall paint
How *Gard'ner*, freed from tyrant lusts,
Nor longer toss'd in passion's gusts,
Felt, spoke, and acted all the saint !
That holy name, which he prophan'd before,
Behold him now with suppliant knee adore;
At morn and ev'n his warm devotions rise,
Like clouds of incense, fragrant to the skies :
No more the grape's nectareous juice
Could tempt beyond a prudent use ;
No wanton speech defil'd his tongue ;
No deed design'd his neighbour wrong :
But the fair streams of innocence,
And unconfin'd benevolence,
O'er all his life uninterrupted ran,
And thro' their chrystal mirrors shew'd the man.

The num'rous characters he bore
 With a distinguish'd praise he wore,
 And subject, soldier, husband, parent, friend,
 He blended, and ennobled to the end.

Now with seraphic transports fir'd,
 The pinions of his zeal aspir'd,
 Scarce patient till he broke the mortal shell,
 And bid this empty scene, and dusky globe fare-
 well.

Heav'n was his home, and to his home he bent,
 And ere the rounds of fatal life were spent,
 Thither his passions would divinely roll,
 The swift-wing'd heralds of his coming soul.
Peace at his tent would often light, and sing,
 And shed the dewy blessings from her wing;
 And rills, devolving from the fount above,
 Pour'd o'er his heart extatic life and love.

IX.

Thus *Gard'ner* liv'd; till from the gloomy
North
Rebellion, grasping targe and steely arms,
 Rush'd, like a mountain boar, impetuous forth,
 And shook our realms with horrible alarms;
Rebellion aiming at one wasteful sway
 To strike the diadem from *Brunswick's* head,
 Tear *Liberty*, and all her mounds away;
 And *Popery's* o'erwhelming horrors spread.
 The news to *Gard'ner* came,
 And fann'd the noble flame,

Which

Which pure *religion*, heav'n-born *liberty*,
 And dauntless *fortitude* had rais'd ;
 And as the gath'ring terrors thunder'd nigh,
 With a redoubled strength the mounting fervors
 blaz'd.

What, tho' Distemper had subdu'd his limbs,
 And, Age defrauded half the purple streams,
 That bloom'd his features o'er,
 When in *Rebellion's* storm before,
 He, rising in the glorious cause
 Of *George's* rights, and *Britain's* laws,
 Swept down the trait'rous files, and *Preston*
 swam with gore ;

Yet his unbroken soul disdains
 Age's dull load of cramps and pains ;
 His youthful rage returns,
 And for the battle burns :

Then, springing from *Francissa's* tender arms,
 Dissolv'd in flowing tears,
 O'erwhelm'd with boding fears,

And only solac'd with the view
 That Heav'n their friendship would renew ;
 He, in th' unshaken confidence of pray'r,
 Sways the keen flame of his revenging sword
 For his eternal, and his earthly lord,
 Serenely meets the dangers wild alarms,
 Plants his embattl'd force, and waits the rush-
 ing war.

So *Michael* †, bent on glorious fight,
 Against *Satanic* rage and might,
 Came tow'ring to the field;
 Unconscious of a quiv'ring fear,
 He saw the foe his dusky horrors rear,
 Wave his broad flaming sword, and heave his
 moony shield.

X.

Not far from where *Edina* lifts
 Her tow'rs into the skies,
 Or where the ocean-bounding clifts
 In clouded summits rise,
Preston extends her humble cots,
 Long, long unknown to Fame;
 But flying routs, and purple spots
 Have stamp'd th' eternal shame.
 Here, here, (Oh could Time's brazen
 pen
 Dash the reproach away,
 Or, as the day returns again,
 Might midnight choak its ray!)
 BRITANNIA'S troops in vain
 Oppos'd the *rebel* host,
 And fled inglorious o'er the plain,
 Their courage wither'd, and their standards lost.
 Muse, paint the doleful scene
 With sighs and tears between;

For

† *Milton's Paradise Lost*, B. vi. L. 255.

For sighs and tears should rise
From ev'ry *British* heart, and gush from all our
eyes.

Swift on the loyal van
The yellow furies ran,
Like the wild ocean that has rent
Its shores, and roars along the Continent;
Or the wing'd light'ning's livid glare
Darting along th'immeasur'd fields of air.
Confounded at the shock,
The yielding squadrons broke:
And now, (for hell inspir'd the throng,)
The gloomy murd'ers rush'd along;
And fierce the steely blade
Its horrid circles play'd,
Till hideous cries,
Quiv'ring sighs,
Hopeless screams,
Batter'd limbs,
Bloody streams,
And universal rout deform'd the ground,
Laid waste the *BRITISH* strength, and the wide
champaign drown'd.

'Come on, come on!' mad *ELCHO* cries,
And for his murders thanks the Skies,
(While the *ITALIAN* from afar,
Too soft a soul to mix in war,
Enjoying all the guilt, beheld
His bloody harpies tear the field,)

' Ply, ply the thirsty steel,
 ' Round the full vengeance wheel;
 ' Each heretic must yield his breath
 ' That for the *Hanoverian* brood
 ' Or lifts a sword,
 ' Or speaks a word;
 ' Come, gorge your souls with death,
 ' And drown your steps in blood:
 ' Think, think what blissful periods roll behind,
 ' Let *London's* mighty plunder fill your mind,
 ' When boundless wealth shall be with bound-
 ' less empire join'd.'

XI.

Gard'ner, with mind elate
 Above the rage of Fate,
 His country's bulwark stood
 'Midst broken lines of death, and rising waves
 of blood.
 His soul disdains retreat,
 Though urg'd by foul defeat;
 Now to his scatt'ring friends he calls,
 To wheel again and charge the foe;
 Now hurls the wide-destroying balls,
 Now deals the 'vengeful blow.
 Forsaken and alone,
 And torn with gashing wounds,
 He hears the treas'nous shout, he hears the loyal
 groans:
 But nought the purpose of his soul confounds;
 And

And still with new delight
 He tempts the midmost fight,
 Propp'd on his sacred cause and courage of his
 own,
 Th' embattled ranks of foot he spies
 Without a leading chief,
 And like a shooting ray, he flies
 To lend his brave relief.
 Here the broad weapon's forceful sway,
 Swung with tempestuous hand,
 Plough'd through his flesh its furious
 way,
 And stretch'd him on the strand.
 Welt'ring in gore, with fiery fiends beset,
 The dying *Gardner* lyes;
 No gentle hand to wipe the mortal sweat,
 And close his swimming eyes.
 The unrelenting crew
 The hero disarray'd;
 But struck at his majestic view,
 The souls were half-dismay'd:
 And, had not hell instamp'd its hate,
 Their stony eye-balls o'er his fate
 Had stream'd with human woe; for heavenly
 mild
 He o'er their gloomy forms the Christian pardon
 smil'd.

But

But not a tear must bathe, or garment shield
 His mangled limbs from sight,
 Down trodden in the fight:
 While his fair mansion, that o'er-tops the field,
 The naked murder sees, and trembles from its
 height.

Still the departing flame of life
 Wav'd languishing in doubtful strife;
 Till, such his servant's faithful care,
 (May heav'n's distinguish'd goodness crown
 The goodness to his master shown!)
 The wheels flow-moving, from the scenes of war,
 To *Tranent* bore th' expiring chief,
 In sullen sounds remurm'ring to his grief.
Urania, mark the melancholy road,
 And with thy tears efface the scatt'ring blood;
 Nor stop, till on the late reposing bed
 (Oh! rather 'tis the fun'ral bier!)
 You see the hero's pallid body spread,
 And his last anguish hear.
 Half-choak'd with clotted gore,
 He draws the hollow moan;
 Flitting his pulse, and fix'd his eyes,
 All pale and motionless he lyes,
 And seems to breathe no more.——
 Oh! that's the life-dissolving groan:——
 Farewel, dear man! for in that pang thy mind
 Soars to its God, and leaves the clog behind.

XII.

GARD'NER is dead!——The bloody trump
of Fame

Proclaim'd the mighty death ;
In ev'ry look the posting rumour came,
And flew on ev'ry breath.

The widow'd partner of his life
The doleful tidings hears,
And, silent in stupendous grief,
Her eyes refuse their tears :

Oppress'd beneath th' immeasurable weight,
Her spirit faints away,

As, sympathetic with the hero's fate,
It meant to quit its clay.

The pledges of his love

Their filial duty prove,

And each with tender hands uprears,

With hands all cover'd o'er in tears,

Their mother's sinking head ;

And groan resounds to groan :

For, oh ! the best of husbands gone,

The best of fathers dead !

But *Gard'ner's* death is more than private woe;

Wide and more wide th' increasing sorrows
run ;

O'er *British* lands unlimited they go,

And fly across the seas, and travel with the
sun.

Religion,

Religion, that from heav'n had bow'd
 To watch the scale of fight,
 When holy GARD'NER fell,
 Who lov'd, and who adorn'd her cause so well,
 Retir'd behind a crimson cloud,
 Nor could sustain the fight.
Britannia, where she fate
 Upon the sea-beat shore
 To eye the battle's fate,
 Her silver mantle tore :
 Then thus, her blushing honours wann'd,
 Her sceptre quiv'ring in her hand,
 Her laurels wither'd, and her head declin'd,
 Ten thousand terrors boding in her mind,
 She to the deep in bitter wailings griev'd,
 While her fall'n helm the trickling drops re-
 ceiv'd :
 ' What havock of my martial force
 ' Has this sad morn beheld,
 ' Torn, gash'd, and heap'd without remorse
 ' Upon the naked field ?
 ' But GARD'NER's death afflicts me most,
 ' Than whom a chief I could not boast
 ' More faithful, vigilant, and brave;
 ' And should across his grave
 ' An hecatomb of HIGHLAND BRUTES be
 slain
 ' They could not recompense his injur'd ghost,
 ' Nor fully quench my rage, and wipe away my
 stain.'

XIII.

But see, in splendid state
Cherubic convoys come,
And waft the hero from his fate
To his celestial home.
Now, now he sails along,
Encircled with their throng,
(The throng, that clap their mantling wings,
And to loud triumphs strike their strings,)
Thro' liquid seas of day,
Ploughing the azure way,
Till to the starry tow'rs the squadrons rise.
The starry tow'rs, thick sown with pearl and gold,
Their adamantine leaves unfold,
And shew the entrance to th' empyreal skies :
Through them our hero mark'd his road,
And through the wheeling ranks of heav'n
An unobstructed path was giv'n,
Till he attain'd th' eternal throne of GOD ;
A throne that blaz'd in uncreating beams,
And from its footstool gush'd unnumber'd streams,
Streams, that in everlasting currents roll,
And pour the boundless joy o'er all th' expand-
ed soul.
Well hast thou done, th' Almighty FATHER spoke ;
Well hast thou done, th' exalted JESUS cry'd ;
Well hast thou done, (all heav'n the Euge took,)
The saints and angels in their songs reply'd.
And

And now a robe of spotless white,
 But where the SAVIOUR'S flowing vein
 Had blush'd it with a sanguine stain,
 Invests him round : In various light
 (For such was the divine command,)

Refulgent on his brows a crown was plac'd ;
 And a triumphal palm his better hand
 With golden blossoms grac'd.
 Nigh to the seat of bliss
 His mansion was assign'd ;
 Sorrow and sin forsook his breast,
 His weary soul was now at rest,
 And life, and love, and ecstasies
 Unbound his secret pow'rs, and overflow'd his
 mind.

XIV.

Nor has thy life, heroic man, been spilt
 Without a wrath proportion'd to the guilt :
 Enkindl'd by the cries that rose
 From thy dear sacred blood, with those
 That shriek'd for vengeance from the brave
 MUNRO'S,
 Who fell a martyr'd sacrifice
 To cool remorseless butcheries,
 Heav'n sends its angel righteously severe,
 And from the foe exacts the last arrear.
 For when the barb'rous bands,
 Thick as the swarms that black'ned Egypt's
 strands,

And

And furious as the Winter's rushing rains
Impell'd by whirlwinds thro' the plains,
Had o'er our country roll'd,
Young *William* rose, (auspicious name,
Sacred to *Liberty* and *Fame*!)

And their mad rage controll'd.
Back to their hills and bogs they fled,
(For terror wing'd their nimble speed,)

And howl'd for help in vain:
William pursu'd, and launch'd his vengeful ire,
(As o'er the stubble runs the crackling fire,
Upon the grov'ling train:

Shudd'ring with horror and despair
With bell'wing pain they rend the air,
Till *Colloden's* illustrious moor
Groan'd with the heaps of slain, and smok'd with
rebel gore.

Then, Muse, suppress thy rising sighs,
And wipe the anguish from thine eyes;
Sing, how *Rebellion* has receiv'd its doom,
How *GARD'NER* dwells in his eternal home,
And in each *British* heart has rais'd a lasting
tomb.

Number



Number III.

An account of some remarkable particulars concerning the ancient Family of the MUNROES of Fowlis.

WHILE I was endeavouring to do justice to the memory of that excellent man, and most beloved friend, whose *memoirs* I have now concluded; and was mentioning, in the course of my narration, the tragical consequences which the unnatural *rebellion* by which he fell had drawn along with it, and the many other valuable persons of which it had also depriv'd us; I could not but particularly reflect on the awful catastrophe of *Sir Robert Munro* and his two brothers, the *Captain* and the *Doctor*; who all within the compass of *eight months*, and in less than *twelve* after the death of *Colonel Gardiner*, (with whom they were well acquainted, and to whom they were allied in the bounds of a virtuous and honourable friendship,) fell a sacrifice to the rage and cruelty of the same destroyers.——I was desirous of interweaving so remarkable a piece of history, with a subject,

a subject, to which it was, alas! so nearly connected; And therefore I applied myself to a person of high rank most nearly related to them, on whose information I was sure I might entirely depend; intreating the favour of such an account of these three excellent brothers, and of the circumstances of their death, as I might safely and properly offer to the view of the public.

This honourable person referred me to a gentleman, well acquainted with the history of the family of the MONROES of Fowlis, and possessed of a distinct *historical account* of it, taken from the annals which have been kept of that family for many ages past, and from the old writs, charters, and other authentic deeds belonging to it, which are the vouchers of these annals.

This gentleman was pleased to favour me with a pretty large *historical account* of this family, beginning it much higher; and carrying it through a much wider extent, than I could have expected from the particular view with which I first requested information.—I next obtained instructions on the same subject from a gentleman at *London*.—I was then furnished with a particular relation from another gentleman, a pious minister of the Church of *Scotland*, with whom I have the happiness of being well acquainted.

acquainted. And as all these are persons of such a character, that none who know them can question the veracity and testimony of each, so they were each of them happy in a most intimate acquaintance with all the three deceased brothers, after whom I inquired.——And last of all, I received from a fourth gentleman an *historical account* of this family from the most early times; which, by the date it bears, was compiled a great many years ago, and which, it seems, was intended to have been published in an historical account of some of the ancient families of *Scotland*; which work became abortive through the death of the Author.

When I compared these several accounts, as I received them from time to time, it gave me great satisfaction to find them all agree, and tally so exactly, in their accounts of this family, and of the three excellent brothers last deceased.——On an attentive perusal of these informations, I found they contained what was too curious and important to be lost, and yet too long to be inserted in the *Memoirs* of Colonel Gardiner, without breaking the unity of design in a manner that would have proved inconvenient.—I concluded, therefore, that (especially as those *memoirs* were finished before some of these papers came to my hands,) it would be best to present it to the world in a distinct piece, connected
by

by way of *Appendix* to the former. And I feel a most sensible pleasure in the addition I am hereby making to the work, as it is paying some little debt of gratitude to the illustrious dead; and at the same time doing a just honour to the surviving branches of a family, from whence so many heroes have sprung, and of which there are still (though after much sad desolation made in it) most worthy remains. And I hope, that it may not only entertain my readers with some remarkable facts worthy of commemoration, but excite in their breasts something of the same generous spirit, to which nothing can more powerfully instigate the mind than the view of such glorious examples.

The *Family* of the MUNROES of *Fowlis* is among the most ancient and honourable families in the north of *Scotland*, and has generally been remarkable for a brave, martial, and heroic spirit. It is mentioned by *Buchanan* with a memorable testimony †, when after speaking of the difficulties in which *Mary Queen of Scots* was involved at *Inverness*, he adds, ‘ That as soon
‘ as

† *Audito principis periculo, magna priscorum Scotorum multitudo affuit, imprimis Frazerii et Munroii, hominum fortissimorum in illis gentibus familiarum.* Buchanan. Hist. Lib. xvii. pag. 618.

‘ as they heard of their Sovereign’s danger, a
 ‘ great number of the ancient *Scots* poured in
 ‘ around her, especially the *Frasers* and *Mun-*
 ‘ *roes*; which (says he) were esteemed among
 ‘ the most valiant of the *clans* inhabiting those
 ‘ countries’ And how well the latter have e-
 ver since continued to deserve that character, the
 following *memoirs*, brief as they are, may in some
 degree shew.

The *MUNROES* of *Fowlis* have, in every one
 of their generations, been intermarried with
 many of the best families of nobility and gentry
 in the North of *Scotland*. And it is yet more
 for their honour, that they were among the *first*
 in those parts that embraced the *Reformation*,
 and have ever since been zealous assertors of it.
 And many of them have not only given great
 countenance and encouragement to the *ministers*
of the gospel in the parishes under their influ-
 ence, in consequence of which a great harvest
 of most eminent Christians have been produced
 there; but also have themselves been signal
 examples of true piety, and a behaviour in all
 its branches most ornamental to a Christian pro-
 fession.——I fear, there have been few fami-
 lies, to which such a character can be universally
 applied: But it is certain, that so far as it is
 the case, it is the most illustrious of all heredi-
 tary honours; and therefore seems to have
 been

been mentioned with the utmost propriety by my several correspondents in this connection.

According to *Buchanan*, it was in the beginning of the *eleventh century*, and about the time of the *conquest* in *England*, when *Malcolm* the II. of that name, King of *Scots*, first distributed, or as it is expressed, *feu-ed out* or *fee-ed* the lands of *Scotland* to the great families thereof, on account of their eminent services in his many battles with the *Danes*, until he forced them quite out of his kingdom. And according to tradition, it was on that occasion, that the country betwixt the *Borough* of *Dingwall* and the water of *Alness*, in the shire of *Ross*, was given to *Donald Munro*; and which is therefore to this day called *Ferrindonald*, that is, *Donald's land*. And part of these lands were afterwards by the king erected into a *barony*, called the *barony* of *Fowlis*.

I shall not follow the annals of this family so far, as to entertain the public with a detail of the *barons* of *Fowlis* in their several generations through these early ages; but shall begin my particular narration of them only from the time they became *Protestants*, when their brave behaviour and example will afford us more instruction, and the facts concerning them may be depended on with more certainty. And

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therefore

therefore I shall only before that time observe,

That *George*, IXth *Baron* † of *Fowlis* (in a direct lineal descent from the above *Donald*, the first *baron*.) was slain at the memorable battle of *Bannock-Burn*, fought by king *Robert Bruce* of *Scotland* against king *Edward II.* of *England*, in the year 1314.——*George*, Xth *Baron* of *Fowlis*, and son of the former, was also slain with a great many of his name at the battle of *Halydon*.

† It is to be observed, (1st,) That *baron* in *Scotland* does not import *nobility*, as it does now in *England*: for at the time the lands of *Scotland* were divided as above, there were then *no nobility* in that nation; but the great families had their estates erected into *baronies*, with a jurisdiction over all the vassals, tenants, and possessors thereof; which was the origin and support of the *Clans* in *Scotland*, these being the only military force in that kingdom, until, upon the union of the two Crowns in the person of king *James VI.* of *Scotland*, regular troops were introduced into that kingdom.—— To this I would add, (2dly,) That the annals of this family contain a genealogical account of all the *Barons* of *Fowlis*, from the above *Donald Munro* to this present time. Several of these can only be transmitted to us by tradition: But as to those whom I have mentioned, there is full evidence of the facts concerning them from the old writs, charters, and deeds in the family of *Fowlis*; and even several other of them whom I have not mentioned, are taken notice of in these old writs.

Halydon-Hill near *Berwick*; in which battle the *Scots* were defeated by the *English*, and a great number of them killed, on the 22d of *July*, A. D. 1333.—*Robert Munro*, XVII. baron of *Fowlis* was slain at the battle of *Pinke* near *Edinburgh*, with many of his name; where the *Scots* were again defeated by the *English*, and a great number of them killed, A. D. 1447.—I mention the fall of these three gentlemen with their friends and followers fighting valiantly in the cause of their country, as illustrating the valour and bravery of this family in their different generations, and shewing how justly they merited the character which *Buchannan* gives them in the place before cited. How long this brave spirit has continued, as it were, hereditary to them, will appear from what follows.

The first protestant of this family was *Robert Munro*, the XVIIIth baron of *Fowlis*, son to *Robert* last mentioned, and the same who came to the assistance of *Mary* Queen of *Scots* upon the occasion before cited, A. D. 1562. He embraced the *Protestant* religion quickly after; and being a wise and good man, he left an opulent estate to the family, and died A. D. 1588.

——He was succeeded by his son *Robert Munro*, XIXth baron of *Fowlis*, who died the same year with his father.——The next to him was his brother, *Hector Munro*, XXth baron of

Fowlis, who died A. D. 1603.—*Robert Munro*, his son, succeeded him, the XXIst baron of *Fowlis*, who flourished when *Gustavus Adolphus*, that justly celebrated king of *Sweden*, (whose religion and valour were so distinguished among his many religious and valiant co-temporaries,) was engaged in a *Protestant war* against the Emperor *Ferdinand* the II. in defence of the civil as well as sacred liberties of *Germany*. The generous heart of this worthy gentleman was so struck with a regard to the common cause in which himself had no concern but what piety and virtue gave him, that he joined *Gustavus* with a very great number of his friends, who bore his own name. Many of them gained great reputation in this war; and that of *Robert* their leader was so eminent, that he was made *Colonel* of two regiments at the same time, the one of horse, and the other of foot, in that service; in which he acquitted himself with so much fidelity and zeal, that he died of the wounds which he received in crossing the *Danube*, and was buried at *Ulme*, in the month of *March*, 1633.

He was succeeded by *Sir Henry Munro*, twenty-second Baron of *Fowlis*, the next male-heir of the family *, who was also *Colonel* of a regiment

* It was formerly the custom in *Scotland*, and is

regiment in the same service; and upon his coming over to *Britain*, was created a *Baronet* in *June*, 1633. Returning afterwards to *Germany*, he died at *Hamburgh*, in *April*, 1635.

— His son, *Sir Hector Munro*, was twenty-third *Baron* of *Fowlis*, who died without issue in the year 1651, at seventy years of age —

Sir Robert Munro, twenty fourth *Baron* of *Fowlis*, succeeded as the nearest male heir, being grandson to *George Munro* of *Obisdale*, who was third son to *Robert Munro*, the eighteenth *Baron* of *Fowlis*.

My information imports, that in the before-mentioned annals of this family, there is a well attested list of officers, (of which I have a copy in the memorial last sent me,) wherein there are three *Generals*, eight *Colonels*, five lieutenant *Colonels*, eleven *Majors*, and above thirty *Captains*, all of the name of *Munro*; besides a great number of *Subalterns*. Most of these were in that religious war under the great *Gustavus Adolphus*; and some of the descendants of this family are at this day in possession of considerable

L 3 ble

is so still among ancient families, to entail the succession of their family estate to the nearest male relation of the deceased, passing by the females, thereby to preserve their estates in their own name and family.

ble military commands in *Sweden*, and various parts of *Germany*.

General *Robert Munro* (who was uncle to *Sir Robert*, the twenty fourth *Baron of Fowlis*,) published in the year 1644, an account of this religious war under *Gustavus Adolphus*, in a folio volume, intituled, '*Military Discipline learned from the valiant Swede.*' A book, of which (though I never happened to see it,) I have heard a high character. I am informed that it contains an exact journal of that expedition into *Germany* for the relief of the distressed *Protestants*; and it is said to be filled with most excellent observations on military affairs, delivered in a strain of piety, which seems to breathe the spirit of its brave and worthy author. And indeed, by what I have heard of that instructive history, it is hard to say, when there has been, even in the *Christian* world, so religious and well disciplined an army as this: at the head of which, a mysterious providence permitted that royal hero and martyr, the great *Gustavus*, to fall. Would to God, the time might at length come when our commanders shall take their lessons from it; at least so far, as to learn from the example of some of the bravest and greatest of men, to maintain in the military bodies under their command the authority of the **LORD OF HOSTS**; and particularly, that reverence

ence for his name, and for his day, which was there so beautifully and gloriously conspicuous!

This worthy *General*, in the year 1641, was appointed by King *Charles* the I. *Major General* of the *Scots* forces, that were sent to *Ireland* to suppress the infamous and destructive *rebellion* there. It is not my business here to insist on those unhappy circumstances, which so long retarded their march, and so greatly obstructed their success. I find, however, that he had at length the honour to be in the number of those, by whom *GOD* gave blood to drink to those miscreants, who had rendered themselves so eminently worthy of it by a series of outrages, which the most sanguinary and detestable faction on earth, (I mean that of *Popery*.) has seldom been able to exceed. For in the year 1644, this illustrious commander, at the head of 14,000 of the *Scots* and *English Protestants*, fought and defeated 22,000 of the *Irish* in *Ulster*, killed and took many thousands of them, and seized on a great quantity of cattle and other provisions of which the *Protestants* were then in great want.

The *General* was a great favourer of the *Presbyterian* interest, and among the first who established it in *Ireland*. He sat in their *Presbyteries* and *Synods*; and adhered to the interest of the *Parliament*, till he apprehended they

were carrying matters to an excessive height against the *King* : On which, he accepted of a commission from him, and acted under the *Duke of Ormond* ; to which he was perswaded by his nephew *Sir George Munro*. (of whom afterwards,) who had always adhered to the interest of *Charles I.* as he afterwards did to that of *Charles II.*

In the year 1645, the *General* was surprized by *Colonel Monk*, before he could draw out his men from their quarters ; and he and they were by that means taken prisoners : But he continued not long in their hands ; for death came and set him at liberty soon after.

It is worthy of our notice by the way, that in the year 1644, we find *Monk* imprisoned by the *Parliament*, for having accepted a commission from the *King* ; and acted in consequence of it, though before that, he had acted by commission from the *Parliament* : And again, in the year 1648, we find him fighting for the *Parliament* against the *King* : And his surprizing and taking *General Munro*, was the first thing that brought him into favour with the *Parliament*. For in that reeling time we find men of a much better character than *Monk*, changing sides again and again, as they apprehended the one party or the other to be in the right, from the many different demands, refusals, and concessions, which then happened between them.

The

The *General* was succeeded in his command by *Sir George Munro*, brother to the last-mentioned *Sir Robert*, and both of them nephews to *General Robert* by his brother *Colonel John Munro* of *Obisdale* in the *Swedish* service: *Sir George* was also bred in that service with his uncle, and afterwards served with him in *Ireland*; where he arrived to the rank of a *Colonel*. He was made *Major-General* by King *Charles the II.* and had a body of forces under his command at *Kendal* when *James Duke of Hamilton* was defeated by *Cromwell* at *Lancaster*, A. D. 1648. Upon this defeat, *Sir George* returned to *Scotland*, and defeated the *Earl of Argyle*: And afterwards his forces being disbanded by order of the *States of Scotland*, he went to *Holland*, and joined King *Charles the II.* After whose restoration he was made *Lieutenant General*, and *Commander in chief in Scotland*.

Sir John Munro, twenty-fifth *Baron of Fowls*, succeeded his father *Sir Robert*, A. D. 1668. He was a member of the convention of the estates of *Scotland* at the revolution, and a very zealous promoter of that happy event. He was no less strenuous in asserting *Presbytery*; and on that account, being also remarkable for a large and corpulent stature, he was nick-named the *Presbyterian mortar piece*. His eminent piety and zeal had exposed him to great sufferings in the

cause of religion, in those unhappy and infamous days, when the best friends to their country were treated as the worst enemies to the government; and when to be conscientiously solicitous *to depart from evil*, made so many thousands a prey. *Sir John* suffered greatly among many others *of whom the world was not worthy*: His person was doomed to long imprisonment, for no pretended cause but what was found against him *in the matters of his GOD*: And his estate, which was before considerable, was harassed by severe fines and confiscations; which reduced it to a diminution, much more honourable indeed than any augmentation could have been, but from which it has not recovered even to this day. He died A. D. 1696, and was succeeded by his son.

Sir Robert Munro, twenty sixth *Baron of Fowlis*, who succeeded his father, was also a pious and benevolent man, and for some time a *Captain*: But it pleased GOD early to deprive him of his sight, and to continue him in that condition during the remainder of his life. Under this calamity, he calmly submitted himself to that GOD, who can shed abroad a far more cheering light on the soul, than these bodily eyes can admit. Providence was pleased to bless him with *children*, in whom he could not but find the highest satisfaction; and whose amiable

miable characters in general leave no room to doubt of the tenderness and respect, with which they would treat so worthy a parent, under a distressing calamity, which would naturally move compassion even in strangers. There were *four* of them who all reached maturity of age, and were the heirs of many blessings, though providence suffered three of them to fall almost at once by most unjust and barbarous hands; *Sir Robert*, *Captain George Munro*; and the *Doctor*, whose Christian name was *Duncan*: Their only sister, married to *Mr Gordon of Ardoch*, still survives; an example of profound submission and fortitude, mingled with the most tender sensibility of temper.

Sir Robert Munro, twenty-seventh *Baron of Fowlis*, succeeded his father, A. D. 1729. He went early from the university to the camp, where he served seven years in *Flanders*; being some time *Captain* in the *Royal Scots*, before that fatal cessation of arms, A. D. 1712; as his late Majesty with so much propriety publickly called it, to which therefore I shall not presume to give, either a milder, or a severer name. It was here, that *Sir Robert* contracted that acquaintance and strict friendship with good *Colonel Gardiner*, which ran through the remainder of their lives, and of which each was so worthy. On *Sir Robert's* return from *Flanders*, he was

reduced on account of his inflexible opposition in *Parliament* (of which he was then a *member*,) to the measures which the *ministry* were then taking to subvert the *succession* in the present *Royal Family*, and with it, no doubt, the *Protestant religion*, of which that family was and is under *God* the firmest barrier.

My correspondent observes, concerning *Sir Robert*, 'That he was noted for the countenance
' he gave to *divine worship*, both in public and
' his family, and for the regard which he always expressed to the word of *God*, and its ministers ;'
and then adds, 'That he was sincere in his
' friendship, and full of compassion even to the
' meanest of those around him : And that he
' was remarkable, above most, for his activity
' in the discharge of any office of friendship,
' where he had professed it, and for his exactness
' in the performance of his promises.'

His *Military services* are particularly worthy of being mentioned here. In the year 1615, he, with *his Clan*, in conjunction with the *Earl of Sutherland*, kept the *Earl of Seaforth*, with 3000 men under his command, from joining the *Rebel Camp* at *Perth*, for near two months ; and thereby prevented the *Earl of Marr* from crossing the *Forth*, till the *Duke of Argyle* had gathered strength sufficient to oppose him. In consequence of this *Sir Robert* exposed his own
country

country to the fiercest resentments of the *rebels*, by whom it was plundered and destroyed ; while others, who yet pretended to be friends to the government, saved themselves and their lands by capitulations with the enemy. Being then made *Governor of Inverness*, Sir Robert kept 400 of his name there, during the rest of that rebellion, regularly paid and regimented : And these, together with some other *clans*, well affected to the interest of the present *Royal Family*, kept possession of that important pass, whereby the rebels were hindered from making a stand there, when they were dislodged from *Perth* by the *Duke of Argyle*.

He was, in the year 1716, made a *Commissioner of Inquiry* into the *forfeited estates* of the rebels ; in which he strenuously exerted himself in procuring a number of parishes to be erected through the rebel countries, and provided with suitable stipends out of the confiscated lands ; whereby the *gospel* was preached in places where it had not been preached since the *Reformation* : So that some *new presbyteries* were formed, in countries where the discipline and worship of *Protestant churches* had before no footing. And such was the compassion and humanity which tempered his high courage, that by his interest with the government he did eminent service to the unfortunate *widows* and *children* of such as
had

had to the ruin of their families been engaged in the *rebellion*.

Sir Robert was thirty years a member of *Parliament* by his family-interest; during which time he always maintained the firmest attachment to the service of his *Majesty* and his *royal father*, and to the *religion* and *liberties* of his country. His fidelity and zeal for these did not need to be purchased, solicited, or quickened, by personal favours: It continued through all this period unshaken and active, though from the ending of his *Commission of inquiry* in 1724, till the year 1740, he had no post under the government. He then found the nation was to be involved in a *foreign war*, the necessity of which was generally apprehended and acknowledged: And therefore though his friends thought his merit and experience might have pretended to something more, as he had been in the rank of a *Lieutenant Colonel* 25 years, his heart was too generous and too warm, not to accept of the *same commission*, which was then given him in the *highland regiment*. This regiment, when first formed out of *independent highland companies*, was under the command of the *Earl of Crawford* as its *Colonel*, who all the while he stood in that relation to it, was abroad, confined by the wounds he had received as a volunteer against the *Turks*. During this time
Sir

Sir Robert Munro was his Lordship's *Lieutenant-Colonel*. Before it went to *Flanders*, *Lord Semple* was its *Colonel*; but he also being generally absent, and *Sir Robert* an old experienced officer, the regiment during the war was left under his care; and the manner in which he modelled and conducted it, will remain in many respects an immortal honour to his name.

It is indeed surprizing, that a *regiment*, composed of *highlanders*, who are generally used to so rapacious a life at home, should yet by discipline have been brought to so good a behaviour, as that they should be judged *the most trusty guards of property*; and that, when the people in *Flanders* were allowed a protection for their goods, they should chuse to have some of *this regiment*, among others of the *British soldiers*, appointed to protect them. This may, indeed, seem hardly credible: * Yet my informer

* A very worthy person, to whose inspection this *Appendix* has been committed since it was finished, observes here, That though the *Highlanders* are much addicted to depredations on their neighbours, yet the very actors even in them are generally as faithful to their trust as any set of people whatever. And that if his officer shews but any degree of civility and kindness to one of these people, the fear of disobliging him has a greater influence than that of stripes generally has on others of the common people. This remark I thought proper to insert here, that

mer assures me, that he had it from an officer of their own of unquestionable credit ; who added farther, that it was but seldom he had observed a man among them *drunk*, and as seldom heard any of them *swear*. This is very agreeable to the high character which I heard of *this regiment*, from an *English* gentleman then in *Flanders* whose veracity is undoubted, and who cannot, I am sure, be suspected of any prejudice here. And among *Sir Robert's* papers, there is still existing a copy of a *letter* from the *Elector Palatine* to his envoy at *London*, desiring him to thank the *King of Great Britain*, in his name, for the excellent behaviour of the *highland regiment*, while they were in his territories, 'which,' as he says expressly, 'was owing to the care of *Sir Robert Munro*, their *Lieutenant Colonel*; for whose sake (he adds) he should always pay a regard to a *Scotchman* for the future.'

I the rather mention these particulars, not only as they do an honour to *Sir Robert* and his worthy *brother*, through whose interest, and that of the other officers, with the private men, this great reformation was effected ; but likewise

that the representation of this affair might be as impartial as possible.

wife as they seem to shew, in a very convincing manner, of how great importance it is, that some methods be seriously thought of for breaking the other uncultivated inhabitants of these countries into useful men, by bringing them at once under the protection and discipline of the laws, and enforcing their obedience to them, by teaching them the principles of religion, and the arts of peace and commerce. This is a happy effect, which, methinks, we may naturally hope for from the late *Rebellion*, pernicious as it has in many respects been; considering how much it has reduced them to the power of the government, and how justly obnoxious it has made the *chiefs* of many fierce and barbarous *clans*.

According to my best information, from persons who are most thoroughly acquainted with affairs in the *North*, the two great springs of rebellion amongst the inhabitants of these *Highland* countries, are, their *idleness*, and their *ignorance* — The former subjects them to a slavish dependence on their masters, and is also the cause of their being so addicted to stealing: And the latter makes them a prey to *Popish priests* and missionaries from *Rome*, who are constantly, and in great numbers, trafficking among them. It has been very justly remarked, that the success they have in seducing these poor ignorant

ignorant people, is occasioned in a great measure, by the *vast extent of parishes* in those *highland* countries; some of them being betwixt 30 and 40 miles in length, and 20 and 30 in breadth, full of great mountains, rapid rivers, and arms of the sea; and those parishes which are more moderate in their extent, are about 20 miles in length, and 10 or 12 in breadth: And it is every where to be observed through these parishes, that around the place of the *minister's* residence, the inhabitants are almost all *Protestants*; but in the corners which are remote from his residence, they are generally all *Papists*.

Now it is evident, that these poor people can only be cured of *idleness*, by teaching them manufactures, to which they are wholly strangers:— And it is hard to imagine how they can be rescued from *Papish ignorance*, until there are several *new parishes* erected in those extensive countries. It would ill become me to pretend to direct the government of *Britain* on such an occasion; but I know it to be the opinion of many persons in those parts, of distinguished wisdom and experience, that if it should be thought fit to employ the produce of the *estates* confiscated by the late *Rebellion*, for these valuable purposes, this, with the *thousand pounds* of his Majesty's royal bounty annually bestowed, would

go a good way towards remedying these two great evils, with their train of miserable consequences, which we have of late so deeply felt. And who would not rejoice, to see all these poor people sharing with us fully in all the privileges and advantages of *Christians* and of *Britons*? I pray God to guide and prosper every scheme for this purpose! And in this connection, I cannot but mention, and recommend, the society for propagating the knowledge of *religion*, and with it the principles of *loyalty*, in these *highland* countries; a design, in which so many worthy persons, both in the Northern and Southern parts of our island, are incorporated. But their stock is by no means equal to the purposes here mentioned; and by their constitution, they are confined to the support of *schools*, which are indeed going on with great success, as far as the revenue will allow them.

But to return from this natural, and therefore, I hope, very pardonable, digression; the behaviour of *Sir Robert Munro*, and his regiment at the battle of *Fontenoy*, was heard through all *Britain*. He had obtained leave of his *Royal Highness* the *Duke of Cumberland*, to allow them their own way of fighting. They were early in the field, and were ordered to attack the main battery of the *French* at the village from which the battle
derives

derives its name ; which they did, and drove the enemy from it: But finding the body of the *French* forces deeply intrenched behind the battery, they did not give over the charge, but bravely drew up to attack them. *Sir Robert*, according to the usage of his countrymen, ordered the whole regiment to *clap to the ground*, on receiving the *French* fire ; and instantly, as soon as it was discharged, they sprung up, and coming close to the enemy, poured in their shot upon them, to the certain destruction of multitudes, and drove them precipitately thro' their own lines: Then retreating, they drew up again, and attacked them a second time after the same manner. These attacks they repeated several times that day, to the surprise of the whole army.

Sir Robert was every where with his regiment, notwithstanding his great corpulency ; and when in the trenches, he was hauled out again by the legs and arms by his own men. And it is observable, that when he commanded the whole regiment to *clap to the ground*, he himself alone, with the colours behind him, *stood upright*, receiving the whole fire of the enemy ; and this, because (as he said) though he could easily lye down, his great bulk would not suffer him to rise so quickly.

His preservation that day was the surprise and astonishment,

astonishment, not only of the whole army, but of all that heard the particulars of the action: And my information relates, that a most eminent person in the army was heard to say upon the occasion, ' That it was enough to convince one of ' the truth of the doctrine of *predestination*, and ' to justify what *King William* of glorious memory had been used to say, That *Every bullet has ' its billet*, or its particular direction and commission where it should lodge.' It is added, that on the retreat of our army, the *highland regiment* was in the rear; and a great body of the *French horse* being ordered to pursue, *Sir Robert* made his regiment face about, and gave them a general fire, so full and effectual, that a great number of them being brought to the ground, the rest wheeled about and rode off.

But to close what relates to *Sir Robert Munro*: As an acknowledgment for his brave services, at *Fontenoy*, as well as on former occasions, his Majesty was pleased to appoint him to succeed *General Ponsonby*, who was slain there, in the command of his regiment; which was among the troops that arrived at *Newcastle* during the *Rebellion*, and made a part of *General Wade's* army. They were afterwards ordered to *Scotland*; and being upon the left wing at the battle of *Falkirk*, on that fatal day, the 17th of *January 1745-6*, they shamefully left their brave
Colonel

Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel, with five or six more of their officers, to be cut in pieces.

By the accounts which the *Rebels* themselves give of *Sir Robert*, he defended himself against six of them with his half-pike, and killed two of their number. Upon which, a seventh came up, and (as they expressed it) poured a shot into his belly, which brought him immediately to the ground. In this dreadful moment, in the midst of all this extremity, his brother, *Doctor Munro*, whom the warmest instances of his friends could not divert from exposing his person in defence of his country, and who was near at hand, ran to him to support him, attended by his servant and the surgeon of the regiment: But they were all murdered on the spot, in the most barbarous manner, by those cruel men.

Sir Robert's body was the next day sought out; and his face was so cut and mangled by these savages, after he fell, that it could scarce be known. He was found, and buried honourably in the church yard of *Falkirk* by the *Macdonalds*, who, though engaged in *rebellion* against their lawful Sovereign, could not but pay some public regard to the memory of so valiant a man; the principal persons among the *Rebels* attending him all the way to the grave.

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And thus fell those two *brave brothers*, for the *Doctor* undoubtedly deserves that title with *Sir Robert*, who, though professing the peaceful art of medicine, adventured himself amidst the most visible danger, fired with love to his illustrious brother; and attempting in vain to bring him some aid in his last extremities, amidst armed enemies, expired with him, no less lamented than he by all that intimately knew him. How just that lamentation was, will appear from the accounts which I had of the *Doctor's character* from his most intimate friends, which I here subjoin.

He was a gentleman of an excellent understanding, and had a brightness and solidity in his genius, which are not often united; but which, when they concur, do greatly illustrate each other. He had been bred up to the study of *medicine* and *surgery*, which in *Scotland* are frequently joined, as they have so great an affinity. 'He had a large stock of knowledge, 'not only in his own profession, but in most 'parts of polite literature. But these (adds my 'correspondent) I hold cheap, when compared 'to the goodness of his heart. His greatest 'study was to *know himself*; and I verily believe, that since the early ages of *Christianity*, 'there has not appeared a more upright person.'

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He spent a great many years in the *East-Indies*, and had most accurately and diligently inquired into the manners, customs, arts, and manufactures of the natives, and into the produce and commodities of the country: So that he was much more capable of giving entertainment to persons of curiosity in such things, than travellers commonly are; and his veracity was such, that all who knew could entirely depend upon whatever he reported as on his own knowledge. To all these advantages was added, a *memory* remarkably tenacious of every circumstance with which he charged it: But perhaps it was a loss to the world that it was so, as it hindered him from committing many extraordinary things to writing, which might have afforded improvement, as well as delight, to the public.

The want of such *memoirs* from so able an hand is the more to be regretted, as his remarkable *modesty* did not permit him to talk much in company. One might spend a good deal of time with him, without perceiving, by any hints from him that he had ever been out of *Britain*: But when his friends seemed desirous of information on any of these topics, as they fell in his way, he communicated his observations upon them with the utmost freedom, and gave them the greatest satisfaction imaginable; of which

which some remarkable instances happened at the houses of persons of very considerable rank, who paid him that respect which he so well deserved.

It was the more to be desired, that he should have left behind him some *written memoirs* of his own remarks and adventures, as he was a most attentive observer of *divine providence*, and had experienced many singular instances of it. One is so remarkable, that it claims a place here, brief as these hints must necessarily be.— After he had continued eight or ten years in the *East Indies*, he was *shipwreck'd* on the *Malabar* coast, as he was on his passage home : He saved his life on a plank, but lost all his effects, except a small parcel of diamonds. This ruinous calamity, as it seemed to be, obliged him to return to *Fort St. George*, where he experienced, far beyond what he could have expected, the extraordinary friendship of several *English* gentlemen of that settlement ; and felt the solid effects of it, as by their assistance he acquired much more in six or seven years following, (for his whole stay in that country was about sixteen years) than he had lost by shipwreck ; And when he left the settlement, he had all sort of encouragement offered him to induce him to stay ; but his health and other circumstances obliged him to return home.

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This return (which happened, if I mistake not, about the year 1726) was a happy providence to many: For as he was remarkably successful in both the branches of the peculiar profession, he took great pains in both: And as he did this without a fee or reward, when he was satisfied the circumstances of the afflicted needed such assistance, he was an instrument of saving many limbs, and many lives, which must otherwise in all probability have been lost.

To this account I must beg leave to add what another of my correspondents writes to me concerning the *Doctor* in the following words: 'As we were often by ourselves, I still found him inclined to turn our discourse to *spiritual subjects*, concerning GOD and religion, the offices of the great Redeemer, and the power of GOD's Spirit in converting and sanctifying the souls of men, and the hope of eternal life through CHRIST.' I transcribe the passage thus particularly concerning this pious Physician, as I esteem it, in one view, a peculiar honour to him, and permit me to say, in another, to the profession itself: Blessed be GOD, that, tho' it is so rare a case, yet there are those of that learned body, who are *not ashamed of the gospel of Christ*; but who knowing it to be true on incontestable evidence, and having felt (what one would imagine every rational creature who be-

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believes it to be true, must immediately see,) its infinite importance, have steadily determined to submit to its influence, and to maintain its honours in the midst of all the scorn and derision of their infidel brethren; a determination, which perhaps requires no less courage, especially in some tempers, than that generous instance of fraternal love which will entail such lasting glory on the memory of *Doctor Munro*.

There yet remained one valiant Brother of this family, whom Providence reserved for a few months, before he shared the fate of the other two. The person I mean was *Captain George Munro of Culcairn, Esq.* of whom I have conceived such an idea from the account of him which has been put into my hands, that I cannot forbear wishing the world were blessed with a much larger narrative of *his life and character* than my instructions will furnish out, or than I should have room to insert in such an *appendix* as this. Much do I regret, that Providence never favoured me with an opportunity of being personally acquainted with him, especially as I have reason to believe, from what my friends in the *North* write, that he had the like disposition towards forming a friendship with me, as produced so quick a growth of it in the breast of *Colonel Gardiner*; whom, on the whole, *Captain Munro* seems to have resembled almost in every part of his

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character,

character, taking it as it was since that happy change, which I have so largely described in the foregoing *memoirs*: But what was wanting in my personal knowledge, is supplied by a large and animated account from my correspondents, who had the best opportunity of knowing him, and upon whose information I can safely depend.

Captain George Munro was the second brother of the family, the *Doctor* being the youngest son. He, like other Gentlemen, had the advantage of a very liberal education, and soon discovered marks of a good genius, which might have qualified him for making a figure under any character in the learned world. Besides the other branches of literature, common to all the professions, he acquired a stock of *theological* knowledge; and before he was seventeen years old, he was well acquainted with *ecclesiastical history*, so as to be able to give a good account of the advance and decline of *Christian* interest in various ages and countries, and the degrees and manner by which the corruption and reformation of the church had been introduced, established, or obstructed. I the rather mention this, as it seems to be an accomplishment of great importance; on which account, I much wonder, that the generality of *young gentlemen* should think it so little worth attending to: And I wish I could say, that

that all who are intended for the *ministry* were so careful in pursuing it, as its usefulness and its absolute necessity to them might demand.

But his taste and talents particularly lay for a *military life*; and in the year 1715 he behaved himself with great courage and activity during the whole course of that *rebellion*; and after the dispersion of the *Rebels*, he was employed in reducing the inhabitants of those *highland* countries, and the adjacent *isles*, to a submission to the government.

In the year 1710, when, on occasion of the invasion from *Spain*, General *Wightman*, with the troops under his command, had waited long at *Inverness* for a body of *highland* men to conduct the troops through the mountains to *Glenfbiel*, where the *Spaniards* and *Rebels* were encamped; and when many promises of such assistance made to the General had failed, Sir *Robert Munro* being then out of the country, his brother the *Captain* (of whom we now speak) assembled, in a most expeditious manner, a body of the *Munro clan*, and marched with the regular troops to *Glenfbiel*; where they distinguished themselves by the gallantry of their behaviour, driving the enemy before them in a sharp action, in which many of them were killed, and more wounded; and among the

rest the Captain himself in a very dangerous manner. He had, however, the satisfaction to see these foreign invaders, and their *Rebel* abettors, totally routed and dispersed on the *Pretender's* birth day, *June* 10th: and though his constitution suffered much by the loss of his blood on this occasion, yet it pleased God to recover him for further service to his country.

As he still continued vigorous and active in the service of the government, he obtained the command of one of the *independent companies* then in the national pay: And when they were afterwards regimented and sent to *Flanders*, he attended them thither, and continued in the public service till the year 1744; when he became so exceedingly *asthmatic*, that he could not breathe in the *Flanders* air: On which General *Wade* not only allowed him to sell his commission, but, out of compassion to his distress, joined his brother *Sir Robert* in obliging him to do it, and to return home: To which at length he submitted, though not without regret; and thereupon returned to his domestic seat at *Newtown* in *Ross-shire*, in the views of spending his days with his family and friends in a peaceful retreat. But Providence determined otherwise, and had reserved for him some farther labours of a *military life*, in which

it had appointed him gloriously to toil and fall, after services which might have done an honour to his most vigorous and active days.

The late wicked and unnatural *rebellion* broke out soon after his arrival; and the danger of his country and its religious and civil constitution gave him at once a new stock of life and spirits.

When *General Cope* came to *Inverness*, and had been assured of being joined by a number of *highlanders* to conduct him and his small army through the *Rebel* countries between that town and *Aberdeen*, *Captain Munro*, with 200 of his brother's *clan*, were indeed the only persons that were found willing to perform the promises that were made by several others. He marched with the *General* directly to *Aberdeen*, from whence he was ordered to return home: in which return he was under a necessity of marching through a great number of the *Rebels* under the command of *Gordon of Glenbucket*, who lay on the road to attack the *Captain* and his party; but *Glenbucket* finding that the *Captain* was determined to dispute every inch of ground with him, retired, and allowed him to proceed without disturbance to *Inverness*.

Not long after that, the *Earl of Loudon* sent *Captain Munro*, in conjunction with the *Laird* of
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of *Macleod*, with a body of men, to relieve the city of *Aberdeen*, and the neighbouring country, then greatly oppressed by the outrages committed upon them by *Lord Lewis Gordon* and the *Rebels* under his command. Accordingly the *Captain* and *Macleod* proceeded as far as *Inverary*, a small town a few miles west of *Aberdeen*, where they halted to receive intelligence; and from the narrowness of the place, they were obliged to quarter a great number of their men in distant places through the adjacent country. In the mean time, a considerable reinforcement from the main body of the *Rebel* army, which then lay at *Perth*, was sent under the command of a *French* officer, supported by their *piequets* and *Irish* brigades: By the assistance of which, *Lord Lewis* attempted to surprise, and cut off the *Captain* and his whole party. In this view they were moving towards *Inverary*, in the dusk of the evening, after *Captain Munro* and *Macleod* had sent their men through the country to their quarters: But though there was not such good intelligence provided as might have been wished, they were providentially discovered at such a distance, that *Captain Munro* and the *Laird* of *Macleod* had time to draw up the men they had in the town of *Inverary*, in so regular manner, that in consequence of it, they gave the enemy such a warm reception, attacking

tacking them at once in front and flank, that many of them were left dead in the field. The brave *Captain* and his *associate* continued very sedate, intrepid, and active, during the heat of the skirmish, till at last being over-powered by far superior numbers, they thought it adviseable to retire; and brought off their party safe and in good order, excepting some few who had been killed or taken prisoners. Among the latter was *Mr. Adam Gordon* of *Ardoch*, nephew to *Captain Munro*, who was seized by the *Rebels*, and treated with a deal of rigour and severity for a considerable time while detained in their power. But they did not presume to pursue the rest; and the young gentleman at length made his escape, to the great joy of the family; being, I hope, reserved by Providence to tread in the steps of his heroic *uncles*, and to bless his country with some considerable future services.

Upon the retreat of the *Rebels* northward before his Royal Highness the *Duke of Cumberland*, the *Earl of Loudon* had not sufficient strength to maintain his possession of *Inverness* against them: Whereupon he, with the *Lord President*, and *Captain Munro*, retreated to the *shire* of *Sutherland*, proposing to defend themselves there, until the season allowed his *Royal Highness* to march the troops to *Inverness*. But
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in this interval, the *Rebels* having spread themselves through the *shires* of *Inverness*, *Murray*, and *Ross*; they got possession of a great many boats; by the help of which they transported a great part of their body to the *Sutherland* coast, under the covert of a very thick fog. Upon which, the *Earl of Loudon*, with the *Lord President* and the *Captain*, were obliged to retreat, through the western parts of *Ross*, into the *isle* of *Sky*; where they continued until the *Rebel* army was broke and dispersed at the battle of *Culloden*.

I have been the more particular in this narrative of the *Captain's* conduct during the rebellion, as it gives some light into the situation and transactions of the friends of our constitution in those parts at that time: And my information assures me, that the facts are taken from persons of undoubted veracity, who were present with the *Captain* in his march to *Aberdeen* with *General Cope*, and in his return from it; and who were with him in the skirmish at *Inverary*, and were afterwards witnesses of his death.

Upon his return from the *Isle* of *Sky*, he was constantly employed in expeditions through the *Rebel* countries of great extent, to reduce them to a submission to the government; which he performed with diligence and zeal, but still with

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the greatest humanity. This the *Rebels* themselves must acknowledge; as he never did the least injury to any man, and in all that vast circuit which he made through these distant countries, he neither himself seized, nor allowed those under his command to seize, any thing but arms: And yet, notwithstanding all this humanity, his diligence and zeal had been such in the whole of this rebellion, as rendered him obnoxious to the rage and revenge of the *Rebels*, who had vowed his destruction upon the first opportunity; and because they had not courage to face him, they had recourse to the base method of *assassination*, which was effected on the Lord's day the 31st of *August*, 1746. He was then on a long and necessary march at the head of 500 men, on the side of *Locharkey*, amongst the wild rocks of *Lochaber*; where, as he was passing by the side of a wood, between the advanced guard and the main body of his men, he was shot dead by a villain who concealed himself behind the trees and rocks in the wood, and who, by the advantages of that situation, got off without being discovered, and has never since been found out: An event to the *Captain*, no doubt, most happy, and a blessed kind of instantaneous translation to the regions of endless peace and triumphant joy; but to all who loved the public, not to be mentioned without

out the tenderest sensibility and deepest regret.

One of my correspondents on this occasion, concludes his account of the deaths of *Sir Robert*, the *Doctor*, and the *Captain*, in these words: 'Thus died these *three worthy men*, to the irreparable loss of the country in which they lived; all of them remarkable for a brave spirit, full of love to their native land, and of disinterested zeal for religion and liberty; faithful in their promises, stedfast in their friendship, abundant in their charity to the poor and distressed; moderate in their resentments, and easy to be reconciled; and especially remarkable for their great and entire love to each other, so that *one soul* seemed, as it were, to actuate *all the three* *.' To which it might have been added,—blessed with a *sister*, not unworthy to make the fourth person in such a friendship.

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* The intimacy of their friendship, though chiefly founded on a similarity of character, might perhaps be further promoted by their being so nearly of the same age; for *Sir Robert* was born August 24, 1684; the *Captain*, September 18, 1685; and the *Doctor*, September, 19, 1687. *Sir Robert* therefore was slain in his sixty-second year; the *Captain* in his sixty-first; and the *Doctor* in his fifty-ninth.

My other correspondent, in his character of the *Captain*, speaks in this manner : ‘ The great foundation of all his other virtues was laid in a most sincere and stedfast regard to the Supreme Being. He carefully studied the great doctrines of our holy religion, which he courageously professed, and as it was requisite, defended, in whatever company he might be cast: He did this with the greatest freedom, as his practice was always agreeable to it; and in particular his regard, both to the *book*, and to the *day* of GOD. He had from his infancy been trained up in an acquaintance with the *scripture*; and he daily perused it with pleasure, and doubtless with advantage. And though the natural chearfulness of his temper inclined him on other days to facetious turns in conversation, yet on the *sabbath* he was not only grave and devout, but carefully attentive, that *all his speech* might tend to edification, and as far as possible minister grace to the hearers. He was exemplary in the *social virtues*, temperate in the use of food and sleep, and rose early for devotion, (wherein as in many other respects, he remarkably resembled his beloved friend *Colonel Gardiner*.) He was also thoroughly sensible, how much a faithful discharge of *relative duties* is essential to the character of a *Christian*. He approved him-

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‘self,

‘ self, therefore, as a brave and vigilant officer,
‘ a most active and faithful servant of the crown,
‘ and a true patriot to his country in the worst
‘ of times; and in *domestic life* was exemplary
‘ as a husband, a father, and a master. He was
‘ a most affectionate brother, a faithful friend, a
‘ constant benefactor, and a sure patron of the
‘ oppressed; and, to crown all, was at last in
‘ effect, *a martyr* in the cause of that religi-
‘ on he had so eminently adorned, and of those
‘ liberties he had so long and so bravely de-
‘ fended.’

It must give a sensible pleasure to every reader, who enters into these things with a becoming spirit, to reflect, That notwithstanding these unparalleled and irreparable losses, *this family*, which has been long celebrated for so many worthy branches, *is not yet extinct*; but that both *Sir Robert Munro*, and the *Captain*, have left those behind them, who may not only bear up the name, but if they answer the hopes which in the opening of life they give to their country, may add new honours to it.

I hope the reader will not lay down this narrative, which is now brought to a close, without deriving some useful lessons from the remarkable train of providence, which this *appendix*, as well as the preceding *memoirs*, offer to his observation. And the more he enters into these lessons,

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lessons, the more will he be disposed to lift up his wishes and prayers to GOD for those valuable remains, both of *Sir Robert Munro's* and of *Colonel Gardiner's* family, which may yet be within the reach of such addresses; that GOD may graciously support them in their sorrows, and that all the virtues and graces of the illustrious dead may live in them, and their remotest posterity. *Amen!*

THE END.



leaves, the more will be so disposed to this
 his witness and prayers to God for their valuable
 remains, both of Sir Robert Blount's and of Co-
 lonel Greville's, that they may yet be with-
 in the reach of such labours; that God may
 graciously support them in their labours, and
 that all the virtues and graces of the Christian
 dead may live in them, and their labours be

fruitful.

THE END

